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CONTENTS.

	Page
THE REV. JOHN HOWE	1
LADY ELIZABETH HASTINGS	213

THE LIFE

OF

THE REV. JOHN HOWE.

BY EDWARD CALAMY, D. D.

SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED.

THE LIFE

THE REV. JOHN HOWE.

CHAPTER I.

THE Lives of persons of worth and eminence, when drawn up with faithfulness and care, have been ever thought very entertaining and improving: and where there has been no hope of recovering any exact account of one of a distinguished character, most people have rather chosen to have some short memorials of him, than that such particulars as might be retrieved should be altogether buried in oblivion.

It may be questioned whether any one now living is capable of doing complete justice to the memory of the truly Reverend John Howe; though there is good reason to believe, that the number of those who would set a value upon an exact account of his significant life (could such a thing be compassed) is far from being small. The history of it could not have been drawn up to

advantage by any but himself, or one that had his personal direction and assistance ; or at least to whom he had given the free use of his papers, with a liberty of transcribing and inserting what might be likely to give entertainment to the curious and inquisitive. Whereas it has unhappily fallen out, that he has been so far from leaving behind him any directions for such a purpose, or narrative of the most material passages of his life, or hints of what occurred in his general and extensive conversation, or even committing his papers to the care of one that was fit to make use of them for the benefit of the public, that before his death he destroyed a number of writings, that might have afforded good materials towards the giving a true historical account of him to after-ages. It is not easy for us to judge what particular reasons he might have for this part of his conduct, and therefore it becomes us to be sparing in our censures. And yet I must own I cannot see why we that are yet living should hereupon slight or throw away, or they that come after us should be deprived of, what is still preserved, and may be recovered.

Most people, I doubt not, will readily conclude that the world has this way lost what might have been of no small use. But, after all, partly from the memories of some to whom he was well known, and whom he admitted to freedom of conversation ; and partly from some letters and papers,

copies whereof were carefully preserved in the hands of his relations, friends, and acquaintance; and partly also from such hints and passages as he has left behind him in the many writings he has published; such fragments may be gathered up, as cannot, I think, but be agreeable to those to whom his memory is precious. And though in the memorials of him that are thus recovered, there will appear several gaps which could not be filled up; yet are some of the papers and things preserved so significant, and worthy of notice, that I cannot help expecting to have a good number concurring with me in opinion, that it would be unhappy for them not to be put together, and preserved.

It is no difficult thing to foresee that it will occasion no small regret, in some whose respect for the deceased rises high, to find the account given of one that was so eminent in his profession, and who would indeed have shined bright in any station, is so very defective and imperfect. And if it may contribute any thing to their satisfaction, the compiler of this Life is free to own that he should have been heartily glad to have been in a capacity of drawing it up in such a manner as the subject deserved. He himself had that knowledge of Mr. Howe, that he can readily say of him, as he did of the celebrated Mr. Newcombe of Manchester, that "they that knew him best, could know but a small part of his true and

great worth, and might always apprehend when they knew most of him, there was still much more that they knew not." He laments that he could not be better furnished with materials in this undertaking, to which he was encouraged, and in which he was assisted by many. And yet having been at considerable pains in collecting and putting together what is here offered to public view, he thinks he may be allowed to hope, that such defects as are observed will be easily overlooked, because he can with safety say, it would have been no small pleasure to him to have been able to have supplied them; and that any mistakes he may have run into will be readily pardoned, because he would gladly have avoided them, had he but known how. And if it should so happen, that any into whose hands these papers fall should find some things represented in a manner that may not be suited to their particular taste, they are desired to consider, that the compiler acted but the part of an historian, upon the best informations he could get, which he would not have regarded, if he had not thought them fairly credible: but if any are furnished with better accounts, and better vouchers, he not only can readily submit, but shall be glad to be favoured with their intelligence.

Mr. John Howe was born May 17th, 1630; the 29th day of which month was remarkable for the

nativity of King Charles II.; and which very year, a few months after, gave birth to that excellent person, Archbishop Tillotson, with whom Mr. Howe in his after-life had a particular intimacy, and uncommon freedom. The place of his birth was Loughborough, a noted market-town in the county of Leicester; of which town his father was for some time the worthy Minister. I have heard his father commended as a person of singular piety and probity; and his mother as a woman of distinguished sense. The father and this son of his were not the only Ministers of the family. For there was one Mr. Obadiah Howe, Vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, who upon several occasions appeared in print, and died in 1682, who was our Mr. John Howe's uncle. There was also one Mr. William Howe, of Gedney in the same county, that was, I suppose, of the family, though I cannot be positive how related to him.

As to the father of Mr. Howe, he was settled in the parish of Loughborough by Archbishop Laud, and afterwards thrust out by the same hand, on the account of his siding with the Puritans, contrary to the expectation of his promoter. He was one of those who could not be satisfied to give in to that nice and punctilious conformity, upon which that Prelate laid so great a stress; and therefore it was not thought fit to suffer him to continue in the exercise of his ministry in that

populous town. Great was the rigour that was at that time used in the ecclesiastical courts, by which, as several were driven into America, and others into Holland and other foreign parts, so was this worthy person from whom Mr. John Howe immediately descended driven into Ireland, whither he took this his son (then very young) along with him. While they continued in that country, that execrable rebellion broke out, in which so many thousands of the poor Protestants, who were altogether unprovided, were so miserably butchered, and a great number of flourishing families ruined and undone, by the enraged Papists, whose very tenderest mercies were found to be cruelty. Both father and son were at that time exposed to very threatening danger, the place to which they had retired being for several weeks together besieged and assaulted by the rebels, though without success. A very special Providence did upon this occasion guard that life which was afterwards made so serviceable to great and considerable purposes. Being driven from thence by the war, which continued for some years, the father returned back into his native country, and settled in the county of Lancaster; and there it was that our Mr. Howe went through the first rudiments of learning, and was trained up in the knowledge of the tongues, though I have not been able to get any certain information who were his particular instructors,

nor any farther notices relative to his infancy and childhood.

He was sent pretty early (I cannot say exactly in what year) to Christ College in Cambridge, where falling among such persons as Dr. Henry More and Dr. Cudworth, of both whom he was a great admirer, I think it is not to be wondered at, that in his early days he received that Platonic tincture which so remarkably runs through the writings which he drew up and published in his advanced years. As for Dr. More, there was an intimacy between him and Mr. Howe, that continued till the Doctor's death: which being known to Dr. Davis of Heyden, who had the most profound veneration imaginable for the Doctor, he the more respected Mr. Howe upon that account.

He continued at Cambridge till he took the degree of B. A., and then removed to Oxford. Mr. Wood the antiquary says, that he was of Brazennose College in Oxon, and Bible Clerk there in Michaelmas term 1648; and that he there took his Bachelor's degree Jan. 18th, 1649. It was a common thing then to take the same degree in both Universities; and I suppose it is so to this day.

He followed his studies closely; and his great attainments in learning, joined with his exemplary piety, so recommended him, that he was at length elected Fellow of Magdalen College, of

which famous society he was a bright ornament, after he had been made Demy by the Parliament Visitors.

He had several contemporaries in this College that afterwards proved Nonconformists; as Mr. Theophilus Gale, Mr. Thomas Danson, Mr. Samuel Blower, and Mr. John Spilsbury. Of the two first, Mr. Wood has given some account, among the Oxford writers, as I also have done, in my memoirs of those who were ejected for nonconformity; but the two latter are wholly omitted by Mr. Wood, though they were both of them Oxonians, and both of them graduates, because they were not writers. Mr. Blower, who died Pastor of a congregation of Dissenters in the town of Abingdon in the county of Berks, was often used to say with pleasure, when Mr. Howe was at any time spoken of in his company, that they two were born in the same town, went to the same school, and were of the same College in the University. And Mr. Spilsbury, who was ejected for nonconformity from Bromsgrove in Worcestershire, was one with whom Mr. Howe kept up a most intimate and endearing correspondence by letter to his dying day.

I might also mention two others, who were Fellows of the same College, who were ejected in 1662, whom Mr. Wood wholly overlooks; namely, Mr. George Porter and Mr. James Ash—who died at Newington-green, near Lon-

don. It is true they were neither of them writers, and yet they were both graduates, the former being B. D. and the latter M. A.; and therefore some notice ought to have been taken of them in his *Fasti*. Such things as these make me apprehend that that author designedly omitted several of the Nonconformists, for fear their number should have appeared too large and considerable.

The famous Dr. Thomas Goodwin was President of the College, at the same time that Mr. Howe and the others whom I have now mentioned were Fellows. He had a gathered church among the scholars of that house; and finding Mr. Howe, who had an established reputation among them, did not offer himself to join with them, he took an occasion to speak to him about it, when they two were by themselves, without any other company with them; and signified his surprise that one of his character for serious piety should not embrace such an opportunity of Christian fellowship, which might be likely to have many good consequences attending it. Mr. Howe with great frankness told him, that the true and only reason why he had been so silent about that matter, was because he understood they laid a considerable stress among them upon some distinguishing peculiarities, for which he had no fondness, though he could give others their liberty to take their own way, without censuring them, or having any unkind

thoughts of them ; but that if they would admit him into their society upon catholic terms, he would readily become one of them. The Doctor embraced him, and told him he would do it with all his heart ; and that to his knowledge, it would be much to the satisfaction and edification of all that were concerned ; and he thereupon became a member of that society. It is with no small pleasure that I relate this passage, which is a proof that Dr. Goodwin was not so narrow and confined in his temper and principles, as some people have represented him.

Mr. Howe's promotion and reputation in the College, and through the University, added new spurs to his diligence and application ; which was so great, that he furnished himself with a large fund of rational and theological learning, the fruits whereof were very conspicuous in his following life. He took the degree of M.A. July 9th, 1652 ; Mr. Theophilus Gale, his fellow collegiate, having taken the very same degree but the month before. And by this time he had not only gone through a course of philosophy, conversed closely with the heathen moralists, read over the accounts we have remaining of pagan theology, the writings of the Schoolmen, and several systems and common-places of the Reformers, and the Divines that succeeded them, but, as he himself signified to one from whom I had it, had thoroughly studied the sacred Scriptures, and from

thence drawn up a body of divinity for himself and his own use, which he saw very little occasion afterwards to vary from, in compliance with the schemes of others.

After taking his last degree, Mr. Howe became a Preacher, and was ordained by Mr. Charles Herle, at his church of Winwick, in Lancashire, which Mr. Wood says, is one of the richest churches in the kingdom. This Mr. Herle was a very noted man in those times; and upon the death of Dr. Twisse, was chosen Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In his parish there were several chapelries, and the Ministers that officiated in them assisted at Mr. Howe's ordination. He would often say, that this Mr. Herle was a primitive Bishop, and the assistants in his several chapels were his Clergy; and as they joined in laying on hands upon him, he thought few men in modern times had so truly primitive an ordination as he. Mr. Howe always spoke of this Mr. Herle with a very great and particular respect.

Some time after he was called to the stated exercise of his ministry in the town of Great-Torrington, in the county of Devon. Dr. Walker tells us that this place is a sort of donative or curacy, belonging to Christ-church in Oxford, but deemed equivalent to one held by institution. He says, that Mr. Theophilus Powel was turned out here about 1646, and was succeeded by the

famous independent Mr. Lewis Stukely ; and after him came Mr. Howe.

He was but young at the time of his first settlement in that town ; and yet even there did he wonderfully fulfil his ministry, and his labours were blessed with great success. When he first came thither several of the inhabitants were members of the Congregational church at Bideford, of which Mr. William Bartlet was Pastor, who had been Mr. Howe's particular acquaintance at Oxford. Being weary of the fatigue of going five or six miles every sacrament-day, and disposed to sit down under Mr. Howe's ministry, these people desired a dismissal from the church at Bideford, and Mr. Bartlet readily resigned them to Mr. Howe, in whom there was a general concurrence ; and he had a numerous auditory, and a very flourishing Christian society under his pastoral care, and thought of no other than of living and dying with them.

I shall not easily forget the account he once gave me in private conversation, of the great pains he took among them, without any help or assistance, on the public fasts, which in those days returned pretty frequently, and were generally kept with very great solemnity. He told me it was upon those occasions his common way, to begin about nine in the morning, with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a blessing on the work of the day ; and

afterwards read and expounded a chapter or psalm, in which he spent about three quarters ; then prayed for about an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for about half an hour. After this, he retired, and took some little refreshment for about a quarter of an hour or more, (the people singing all the while,) and then came again into the pulpit, and prayed for another hour, and gave them another sermon of about an hour's length ; and so concluded the service of the day, at about four o'clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer : a sort of service that few could have gone through, without inexpressible weariness both to themselves and their auditories. But he had a strong head, a warm heart, and a good bodily constitution : and the more he spent himself in his Master's service, the more was he beloved by the inhabitants of his parish.

While he continued his labours in this town, he kept up a good correspondence with the Ministers in the neighbourhood, and all over the country, and was greatly esteemed : but there was a particular intimacy between him and the famous Mr. George Hughes of Plymouth, who made a greater figure, and had a greater interest and influence, than most of the Ministers in those parts ; and he was married to his daughter March 1st, 1654. These two kept up a weekly mutual correspondence by Latin letters ; and I have a me-

morale passage to relate as to one of them. Mr. Howe happened to have a fire in his house at Torrington, which might have been ruinous to his family, if a violent rain which fell just at that time had not contributed greatly to extinguish it. On that very day it so fell out that he received a letter from his father Hughes, which concluded with this prayer: *Sit ros cœli super habitaculum vestrum*: "Let the dew of heaven be upon your dwelling:" which was a prayer, the seasonableness of which for his children in the letter of it, the good man could not apprehend at the time of writing; but they could not but affectionately remark it, at the receipt of it.

Some time after (I cannot with certainty say how long) Mr. Howe having occasion to take a journey to London, was detained there longer than he intended. He had the curiosity to go one Lord's day, (and it was on the last that he designed to continue in town,) to be an auditor at the chapel at Whitehall; but I cannot meet with any one that can with certainty recollect who was to be that day the Preacher. Cromwell, who generally had his eyes every where, spied out Mr. Howe in the auditory, and knew him by his garb to be a country Minister, and thinking he discerned something more than ordinary in his countenance, sent a messenger to him to desire to speak with him when the worship of God was over. Upon his coming to him, Crom-

well requested him to preach before him the Lord's day following. Mr. Howe was surprised with the unexpected motion, and modestly desired to be excused. Cromwell told him it was a vain thing to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no denial. Mr. Howe pleaded, that having dispatched what business he had in town, he was tending homewards, and could not be absent any longer without inconvenience. Cromwell inquired what great damage he was liable to sustain by tarrying a little longer. Mr. Howe replied, that his people, who were very kind to him, would be uneasy, and think he neglected them, and slighted their respect. Cromwell promised to write to them himself, and to send down one to supply his place, and actually did so ; and Mr. Howe stayed and preached as he was desired. When he had given him one sermon, Cromwell still pressed for a second, and a third ; and at last after a great deal of free conversation in private, nothing would serve him (who could not bear to be contradicted, after he had once got the power into his hands) but he must have him to be his household Chaplain ; and he would take care his place should be supplied at Torrington to the full satisfaction of the people. Mr. Howe did all that lay in his power to excuse himself, and get off ; but no denial would be admitted : and at length (though not without great reluctance) he was prevailed with

to comply, and remove with his family to Whitehall, where several of his children were born. In this difficult station, he endeavoured to be faithful, and to keep a good conscience. And this I suppose is the time when, as Mr. Wood informs us, he became Lecturer of St. Margaret's church, in Westminster. Certain it is, that he was then a celebrated Preacher, and generally respected: and it has been observed by several, that there was hardly any man that was in an eminent public station in those critical times, and that was admitted to the knowledge of so many secrets as he, that was so free from censure, in the changes that afterwards succeeded: a plain argument of uncommon conduct and caution.

Never can I find him so much as charged, even by those that have been most forward to inveigh against a number of his contemporaries, with improving his interest in those who then had the management of affairs in their hands, either to the enriching of himself, or the doing ill offices to others, though of known differing sentiments. He readily embraced every occasion that offered of serving the interests of religion and learning, and opposing the errors and designs which at that time threatened both. Among many instances of his generous temper, I shall mention one; which was his seasonable service to Dr. Seth Ward, who was afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Sarum, successively. The case was

this. In 1657 that gentleman, who had succeeded Mr. John Greaves some time before, as Astronomy Professor in the University of Oxon, stood candidate for the Principalship of Jesus College in the same University, upon the resignation of Dr. Michael Roberts. Dr. Ward had the majority of the Fellows for him; but Mr. Francis Howell, of Exeter College, made an interest in the Protector Cromwell, and obtained his promise for the filling up that vacancy. Dr. Ward, not knowing that matters had gone so far, was for making an interest in the Protector too, and in order to it applied to Mr. Howe, who, without making great promises as to success, readily offered to introduce him to the Protector, and do him what service he was able. Having obtained an audience, and they three being together, Mr. Howe gave Cromwell a great character of Dr. Ward, with respect to his learning, and signified how ill it would sound, if a man of his known merit should be discountenanced; especially when he had the majority of the Fellows on his side. Cromwell replied, that Dr. Roberts having resigned his Principalship into his hands, he had been informed that it was his right to fill up the vacancy; and he had given his promise to Mr. Howell, and could not draw back. But immediately taking Mr. Howe aside, and discoursing him freely about Dr. Ward, and he telling him that in his apprehension it would be much

for his honour to do something for the Doctor, and that he would thereby encourage men of merit and learning, he returned to Dr. Ward, who continued waiting, and told him that he found Mr. Howe to be much his friend, and was upon his report of him disposed to give him some tokens of his regard: and thereupon he pleasantly asked him what he thought the Principalship of Jesus College might be worth. The Doctor freely told him what was the value of it according to common computation. And thereupon he gave the Doctor a promise, that he would allow him the sum that he mentioned annually. This was at that time reckoned a seasonable kindness; and the Doctor expressed his grateful sense of it to Mr. Howe some time after, when upon the change of the times he became a greater man.

There were many others to whom Mr. Howe was very serviceable while he continued at Whitehall; and never was he known to be backward to assist any of the Royalists or Episcopalians in distress, if they were but persons of real merit. He befriended several with his advice and interest upon their being obliged to appear before the Triers, in order to the having their approbation before their being allowed to officiate in public as Ministers. Among the rest that applied to him for advice upon that occasion, the celebrated Dr. Thomas Fuller, who is so well

known by his punning writings, was one. That gentleman, who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these Triers, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr. Howe when he applied to him for advice. "Sir," said he, "you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait: I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through." He freely gave him his advice, and he promised to follow it; and when he appeared before them, and they proposed to him the usual question, whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart; he gave this in answer, that he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfied.

In short, so generous was Mr. Howe, in using his interest on the behalf of persons of any worth that applied to him, that I have been informed Cromwell once freely told him, that he had obtained many favours for others; "but," says he, "I wonder when the time is to come that you will move for any thing for yourself, or your family:" a plain argument that he took him for a very disinterested person, and as free from selfishness as he was from partiality.

And here I know not how to forbear mentioning a passage that I had from Mr. Howe's own mouth, when I had the happiness of some hours' free

conversation with him, without any interruption. I had heard from several, (and it had been confirmed to me by Mr. Jeremy White, who lived at Whitehall at the very same time with Mr. Howe,) that the notion of a particular faith in prayer, prevailed much in Cromwell's court; and that it was a common opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favoured of God, when they offered up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made upon their minds and spirits by a divine hand, as signified to them, not only in the general that their prayers would be heard, and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for would be certainly bestowed; nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded, and pointed out to them future events beforehand, which in reality is the same with inspiration. Having heard of mischief done by the prevalence of this notion, I took the opportunity that offered, when there was nothing to hinder the utmost freedom, to inquire of Mr. Howe, what he had known about this matter, and what were his apprehensions concerning it. He told me the prevalence of the notion that I mentioned at Whitehall, at the time when he lived there, was too notorious to be called in question; and that not a little pains was taken to cultivate and support it; and

that he once heard a sermon there, (from a person of note,) the avowed design of which was to maintain and defend it. He said, he was so fully convinced of the ill tendency of such a principle, that after the hearing this sermon, he thought himself bound in conscience, when it came next to his turn to preach before Cromwell, to set himself industriously to oppose it, and to beat down that spiritual pride and confidence which such fancied impulses and impressions were apt to produce and cherish. He told me, he observed that while he was in the pulpit, Cromwell heard him with great attention, but would sometimes knit his brows, and discover great uneasiness. When the sermon was over, he told me a person of distinction came to him, and asked him if he knew what he had done ; and signified it to him as his apprehension, that Cromwell would be so incensed upon that discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future. Mr. Howe replied, that he had but discharged his conscience, and could leave the event with God. He told me that he afterwards observed, Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before ; and sometimes he thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but he never did, and rather chose to forbear. He added, that he had a great deal of satisfaction in what he did in this case, both in the time of doing it, and

ever afterwards, to the time of our conversing together upon this subject.

Whilst he continued in Cromwell's family, he was often put upon secret services; but they were always honourable, and such as, according to the best of his judgment, might be to the benefit either of the public, or of particular persons. And when he was once engaged, he used all the diligence, and secrecy, and despatch he was able. Once particularly, I have been informed, he was sent by Oliver in haste upon a certain occasion to Oxford, to a meeting of Ministers there; and he made such despatch, that though he rode by St. Giles's church at twelve o'clock, he arrived at Oxford by a quarter after five. In short, he so behaved himself in this station, that he had the ill-will of as few as any man, and the particular friendship of the great Dr. Wilkins, who was afterwards Bishop of Chester, and several others, who were great supports of real piety and goodness in those times, and afterwards eminent under the legal Establishment.

When Oliver died, his son Richard succeeded him as Protector, and Mr. Howe stood in the same relation to the son as he had done to the father. He was still Chaplain at court, when, in October, 1658, he met with the Congregational brethren at the Savoy, at the time of their drawing up their "Confession of Faith," &c. And though he meddled not with state affairs, neither

then nor afterwards, yet he has often been heard to say, that he was in his judgment very much against Richard's parting with his Parliament, which he easily foresaw would issue in his own ruin. I have been told by a friend, that discoursing once freely with Mr. Howe about the setting Richard aside, he intimated to him, that it was but a parenthesis in a public paper that was the occasion of the great ill-will of the officers to him, which rose at length to that height, that nothing would satisfy, but the pulling him down. And when the same person signified in a way of free discourse to Mr. Howe, that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man, he with some warmth made this return: "How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother Fleetwood, he stood it out all night against his whole council, and continued the debate till four o'clock in the morning, having none but Thurlow to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that Parliament would be both his ruin and theirs?" Upon some further discourse on the same subject, Mr. Howe told my friend, that Fleetwood undertook with great solemnity, that if Richard would but comply with the proposal that was made him, the army should not do him the least damage. And he added, that when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the answer he returned was, that he

thought he had had more interest in the army than he found he had. And Mr. Howe farther added, that accidentally meeting with Major General Berry, who was in those times so active and busy, some time after the Restoration, when he was but in very mean circumstances, he very freely told him, with tears running down his cheeks, that if Richard had but at that time hanged up him, and nine or ten more, the nation might have been happy. But without applauding what was weak, or vindicating what was blamable, it becomes us to be sensible, that the great and infinitely wise God had purposes to serve, that were out of the reach of human foresight.

CHAPTER II.

WHEN the army had got their will, and set Richard aside, they, as it was foreseen they would, soon fell themselves; and a way was made by Monk to bring things back into the old channel. Mr. Howe returned to his people at Torrington, and continued his labours among them till the Restoration; at which time, there was such a madness attending the universal joy, that it is a perfect wonder the nation ever in any measure recovered it. The King, being restored, made for some time more use than was usual of the Lords

Lieutenants and their Deputies to keep the several counties of the kingdom in awe: many were made offenders for a word, and the most cautious Preachers were accused and censured, if they were not intoxicated to the same degree with their neighbours. Among the rest, Mr. Howe, though as cautious as most men of giving disturbance to any, yet met with some trouble, in the year 1660, a few months after the Restoration, which appears to have been given him by persons that were desirous to do a pleasure to those who then had the ascendant.

He was informed against by John Evans and William Morgan, as delivering somewhat that was seditious and even treasonable, in two sermons preached from Galatians vi. 7, 8, on September 30th and October 14th. The information was given before Mr. Wellington, the Mayor, who took an engagement from Mr. Howe, and others on his behalf, for his appearance at the next Sessions, to answer to that matter. Before that time, some of the Deputy Lieutenants for the county (who were not willing the Magistrates of the several corporations should be too powerful) sent word to the Mayor that they could not be present at the appointed session, but desired to hear the matter at some other time, and prefixed a day for that purpose, to which the Mayor accordingly adjourned the Sessions in compliance with their desire; and whereas Mr. Howe in open

Court demanded the benefit of the statutes of I Edward VI., and I Elizabeth, to purge himself by more evidences than the informers, the Mayor administered an oath to one-and-twenty witnesses, who were judicious men, enjoining them on His Majesty's behalf to declare the truth of the matter; and they all cleared Mr. Howe from the guilt in the accusation, and the Court accordingly discharged him.

Some time after this, on November 24th, one of the constables of the town summoned the Mayor to appear before the Deputy Lieutenants, by a warrant dated the 14th, which he had kept ten days by him: and the same being signed by four gentlemen who had been in town the day that the warrant bore date, (which was the very day of the hearing,) and the Sheriff's hand, who was not then in town, being also to the warrant, the Mayor doubted whether the warrant was made by the gentleman or not; and thereupon wrote to the Sheriff, that in case he might not be excused from appearing, he would prepare for it, as far as would consist with his office and place. But the messenger not returning soon enough, (the summons being for Saturday, and the appearance the Wednesday morning after,) the Mayor gave another letter to the Deputy Lieutenants to the same purpose, and they presently sent a party of horse for him, who carried him to Exon; where appearing before the said Deputy Lieute-

nants, they told him he had acted unwarrantably in the case of Mr. Howe, and committed him to the Marshalsea, where he paid three pounds for fees, and afterwards was bound over to appear at the next Assizes; and when they came, this affair of Mr. Howe was heard at large before the Judge, and the notes that were taken in shorthand by a hearer were read before him; and having heard them out, he said the charge was wholly bottomed upon a mistake, and cleared him. One of the accusers soon left the town, and was seen there no more: the other cut his own throat, and was buried at a cross-road.

It is observable that there were many things of this kind at that time, in several parts of England, which seem to have been managed in concert, on purpose to make way for the celebrated Act of Uniformity; as in the case of Mr. Andrew Parsons, of Wem in Shropshire, Mr. John Sacheverel, of Wincanton in Somersetshire, and divers others.

When things were thought sufficiently prepared for it, at length, in 1662, the Act of Uniformity passed the two Houses of Parliament, though, as it was observed, (and it ought not to this day to be forgotten,) with a very small majority in the House of Commons; and it took place on August 24th, this year. Mr. Howe on that day preached two very affecting sermons to his people at Torrington, and his auditory were

all in tears. He consulted his conscience, and could not be satisfied with the terms of conformity fixed by the law, some account of which he gave in his farewell sermons. He hereupon quitted his public station in the Church, and became a silenced Nonconformist: though how that Church from which he was excluded can be that truly primitive and apostolic Church that it is represented, and yet exclude one of his latitude, remains to many to this day a mystery. I shall not easily forget what he himself has told me; namely, that the first time he accidentally fell into the company of his much-valued friend Dr. Wilkins, after the affecting change which that Act produced, the Doctor, in his usual way, entering into a free and pleasant conversation with him, told him that that Act had had such consequences as a little surprised him. Some, he said, that he should have thought much too stiff and rigid ever to have fallen in with the Establishment, had complied and conformed; while others, that he thought had a sufficient latitude to have conformed, had stood out, and continued Nonconformists: and he intimated to Mr. Howe that he took him for one of the latter sort, and should therefore be glad to know the reasons of his conduct. Mr. Howe very frankly told him, that he had weighed that matter with all the impartiality he was able, and had not so slender a concern for his own usefulness and comfort as

not to have been willing and desirous to have been under the Establishment, could he but have compassed it with satisfaction to his conscience: but that the giving him a particular account of the workings of his mind upon that occasion, (which he was free to do without any reserve, when a convenient opportunity offered,) would take up much more time than they then had to spend together; and that so many things were necessarily to be touched upon in a discourse on that subject, that it was not possible for it to be crowded into a transient conversation, and therefore he should reserve it to a season, when, having more time, he might have more scope for enlarging: but one thing, he added, he could tell him with assurance; which was this, that that latitude of his, which he was pleased to take notice of, was so far from inducing him to conformity, that it was the very thing that made and kept him a Nonconformist. The Doctor asked him, whether it was the discipline of the Church that was the thing from whence he drew his chief objection. To which Mr. Howe replied, that he could not by any means be fond of a Church that in reality had no discipline at all; and that he thought that a very considerable objection against the Establishment. The Doctor told him, that though he was sensible there might not then be room for coming to a variety of particulars, yet he should

be glad of a general hint from him, about what was his great hinderance in the case, leaving the enlargement to a farther opportunity, which he should readily embrace. Mr. Howe then went on, and intimated to him, that he took the public exercise of his ministry to be like a habitation or dwelling; and that when he was put upon consulting about a dwelling, he could not tell how to reconcile it with common prudence to enter into a habitation that he was apprehensive had so weak a foundation as that it was not likely to stand very long. "I could not," says he, "by any means be for going into a falling house, for fear of its falling about my ears. Of this nature," said he, "I take the present constitution to be, compared with that flourishing state of real vital religion which I think I have sufficient warrant from the word of God to expect and look for." To which the Doctor made this reply: "I understand you well; and if that be your sense, take this advice from a friend: Do not think to gain any thing by sneaking or crouching, but bear up against us boldly and bravely; stand to your principle, and sooner or later you may hope to carry your point."

This Dr. Wilkins was ever a great enemy to rigour and severity. When he was made a Bishop by King Charles II., (which was not compassed without considerable difficulty,) I have been credibly informed, he waited on the

famous Dr. Cosins, Bishop of Durham, among other spiritual Lords, and desired his company at his consecration dinner. Upon this occasion Bishop Cosins entered into a free discourse with him, about moderation on the one hand, and a vigorous supporting the ecclesiastical constitution on the other. Bishop Wilkins frankly told his Lordship, that, for his part, it was his apprehension, that he, who was by many (with ill nature enough) reflected on for his moderation, was in reality a better friend to the Church than his Lordship, who was for rigorously supporting the constitution. Bishop Cosins seeming surprised, Bishop Wilkins added this as the reason of his assertion: "For while you, my Lord," said he, "are for setting the top on the peaked end downwards, you will not be able to keep it up, any longer than you continue whipping and scourging; whereas I," says he, "am for setting the broad end downward, and so it will stand of itself." It is a pity this good Bishop died so soon as 1672, and did not live till the Revolution in 1688.

What I have just been mentioning of Mr. Howe's intimating to Dr. Wilkins, that he thought he had a scriptural warrant to expect and look for a more flourishing state of real vital religion than we were yet arrived at, very naturally reminds me of a passage I have heard of in conversation, at some other time, between him and another great friend of his, namely, Dr.

Henry More. That Doctor, when he came to town, usually paid a visit to Mr. Howe, to whom he was always welcome. Calling once at his house soon after his coming into the city, and not finding him at home, he left word that he would come and dine with him the next day, which was Tuesday. Mr. Howe became that day an auditor at the lecture at St. Lawrence's, hoping there to meet with his friend Dr. More, and bring him home along with him. It so fell out that Dr. More, being at that lecture, sat in the same seat with Dr. Sharp, who was afterwards Archbishop of York, who, when the sermon was over, asked him where he intended that day to dine. He told him he had promised to dine that day with Mr. Howe, whom he saw there present in another pew. Dr. Sharp invited himself to dine with him too; and the company of two such persons was highly pleasing to Mr. Howe, who was in his element when in the company of men of letters. After dinner, among other things that were freely discoursed of, they at length came to talk of the Revelation of St. John, which was one of the Doctor's most common and favourite subjects. The Doctor, who was very fond of the notion, that the epistles to the seven Asian churches, which we meet with in that book, were prophetical, said, and repeated it over and over again, that he thought he had very good evidence to prove that we were now in

the Sardinian state ; with which Mr. Howe was not displeased, though Dr. Sharp seemed not much to relish it, thinking it no great compliment on the present ecclesiastical constitution. Being informed of this conversation, I took the pains to turn to Dr. More's works, to see what account he gives of the Sardinian church ; and I find in him these words, when he is giving a particular description of it : " Though the Sardinian church be well rid of the foul idolatries and gross trumperies of the Papal Church, yet her state as yet is but carnal. It is not the dispensation of the Spirit of life, but the main stir is about external opinion and ceremony." And he adds a little after, " As mischievous a mark as any of her carnality, is her dissension and schismaticalness, even to mutual persecution ; as also the unnatural and unchristian wars of one part of Reformed Christendom against the other." So that Mr. Howe was not singular in his sentiments, in firmly expecting that a much more flourishing state of religion would in time take place, than that which was brought in by the Act of Uniformity, in which so many were for acquiescing, without advancing so much as a step farther, for fear of I know not what ill consequences, that might ensue. But as to him, he had a large soul, and could not bear the thoughts of being cramped and pinioned. He was for the " union and communion of all visible Christians ;

and for making nothing necessary to Christian communion, but what Christ hath made necessary, or what is indeed necessary to one's being a Christian." And he was convinced that "such a union must be effected, not by mere human endeavour, but by an Almighty Spirit poured forth; which," says he, "after we have suffered a while, shall *καταρτίσαι*, put us into joint, and make every joint know its place in the body, 1 Peter v. 10; shall conquer private interests and inclinations, and overawe men's hearts, by the authority of the divine law, which now, how express soever it is, little availeth against such prepossessions. Till then," he says, "Christianity will be among us a languishing withering thing. When the season comes of such an effusion of the Spirit from on high, there will be no parties. And amidst the wilderness desolation that cannot but be till that season comes, it matters little, and signifies to me," says he, "scarce one straw, what party of us is uppermost. The most righteous, as they may be vogue, will be but as briars and scratching thorns; and it is better to suffer by such, than be of them."* I cannot help saying, that it could never be for the credit of any church, to exclude one of such a make and spirit out of its enclosure.

However, being ejected and silenced, Mr.

* Mr. Howe's Funeral Sermon on Mr. Mede.

Howe continued for some time in the county of Devon, preaching in private houses, among his friends and acquaintance, as he had opportunity. Having preached at the house of a certain gentleman in those parts, and spent some few days with him, he, at his return home, was told that an officer belonging to the Bishop's Court had been to inquire after him, and left word that there was a citation out, both against him and the gentleman at whose house he had preached. Hereupon, he the very next morning took his horse and rode to Exeter, and alighting at the inn there which he usually called at, he stood a while at the gate, considering which way he had best to steer his course. While he stood musing, a certain dignified Clergyman, with whom he was well acquainted, happening to pass by, looked on him with some surprise, and saluted him with this question, "Mr. Howe, what do you do here?" To whom he replied with another question: "Pray Sir, what have I done, that I may not be here?" Upon which he told him that there was a process out against him, and that being so well known as he was, he did not at all question but that if he did not take care of himself, he would be taken up in a very little time. Among other discourse that passed, he asked him whether he would not go and wait upon the Bishop. He said, he thought not to do it, unless his Lordship hearing of his being in that city, should think fit

to invite him. Upon this, he advised him to call for a room, and wait there a little, and told him he would go to the Bishop, and let him know that he was there, and return to him again, and give him an account what his Lordship said to it. He accordingly left him, and soon returned, and brought him an invitation from the Bishop, who signified he would be glad to see him. Waiting on his Lordship, he received him with great civility, as his old acquaintance. The Bishop presently fell to expostulating with him about his non-conformity. Mr. Howe told his Lordship he could not have time, without greatly trespassing upon his patience, to go through the several objections which he had to make against the terms of conformity. The Bishop pressed him to name any one that he reckoned to be of weight. He thereupon instanced in the point of re-ordination. "Why, pray Sir," said the Bishop to him, "what hurt is there in being twice ordained?" "Hurt, my Lord!" says Mr. Howe to him; "the thought is shocking: it hurts my understanding; it is an absurdity. For nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure that I am a Minister of Christ, and am ready to debate that matter with your Lordship, if you please; and I cannot begin again to be a Minister." The Bishop then, dropping that matter, told Mr. Howe, as he had done at other times, that if he would come in amongst them, he might have considerable preferments, and at

length dismissed him in a very friendly manner. And as his Lordship did not take the least notice to him of the process that was issued out against him, soneither did he say anything of it to his Lordship: but taking his leave, he mounted his horse and rode home, and heard no more of that matter, either with respect to the gentleman or himself.

In 1665, when the Dissenting Ministers had been three years silenced, they were not a little perplexed in all parts of the kingdom, by the Act that passed in the Parliament at Oxford, by which they were obliged (under the penalty of not being allowed, unless upon the road, to come within five miles of any city, or corporation, or any place that sent Burgesses to Parliament, or any place where they had been Ministers, or had preached after the Act of Oblivion) to swear, "that it was not lawful UPON ANY PRETENCE WHATSOEVER, to take arms against the King; and that they abhorred the traitorous position, of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission: and that they would not at any time endeavour any alteration of the government either in Church or State." They were much divided in their sentiments upon this occasion. There were several among them, who reckoned this oath so ensnaring, that they durst not take it: but it was at length taken in London by Dr. Bates, and others, to the number of

twenty. It was also taken in Devonshire, by Mr. Howe, and others, to the number of twelve : and by some few in Dorsetshire.

The twelve who took this oath in Devonshire were, as I am informed from a manuscript of Mr. Quick's, Mr. Humphrey Saunders, Mr John Howe, Mr. Gunnery, Mr. Mortimer, Mr. Parre, Mr. Francis Whiddon, Mr. Fairant, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Binmore, Mr. Berry, Mr. Cleveland, and Mr. Bayly. The two last took it voluntarily, before it came in force. The other ten took it at the county sessions, after the taking place of the Act. At their appearance for that purpose, one of the company (I find not who) made a declaration in open Court, in these words:—

“ I confess I have had some doubts concerning this oath ; but understanding, partly by discourse about it with some who concurred in making of the law, and partly by consideration of the law itself, and other laws, that the oath hath no other meaning or end, than to secure the person of the King's Majesty, and his authority, whether in his person or Commissioners, and the government in Church and State, from being shaken or subverted, by any unpeaceable or seditious endeavours out of our place and calling, I am abundantly satisfied to tender myself to this honourable Court for the taking of it.”

This declaration being candidly accepted by the Court, the ten before-mentioned immediately

took the oath. Only Mr. Fairant, and Mr. Wilkins, took it with this addition, "so far as the laws of man are agreeable to the word of God."

But as to Mr. Howe, he upon this occasion drew up the following paper, which gives an account of the principles upon which he took the oath that was then imposed; and at the same time states the matter of oaths in general, as judiciously and fully as can well be supposed or imagined in so narrow a compass:—

"1. My swearing is my act. 2. The obligation I hereby contract is voluntary. 3. Swearing in a form of words prescribed by another, I adopt those words, and make them my own. 4. Being now so adopted, their first use is to express the true sense of my heart, touching the matter about which I swear. 5. Their next use, as they have now the form of an oath, is to assure him or them who duly require it from me, that what I express by them is the true sense of my heart. 6. It is repugnant to both those ends, that they should be construed (as now used by me) to signify another thing than what I sincerely intend to make known by them. 7. If the words be of dubious signification, capable of more senses than one, I ought not to hide the sense in which I take them, but declare it, lest I deceive them whom I should satisfy. 8. That declaration I ought to make, if I have opportunity, to them whose satisfaction is primarily

intended by the oath ; if not, to them whom they entrust and employ. 9. This declared sense must be such as the words will fairly bear, without force or violence."

CHAPTER III.

I HAVE been told, that in this year, 1665, Mr. Howe was imprisoned for two months in the Isle of St. Nicholas, which was the place where his father-in-law, Mr. George Hughes, and his brother, Mr. Obadiah Hughes, had been confined for a longer time ; but the occasion of this imprisonment, what was alleged to justify it, and how he obtained deliverance, I have not been able to discover.

In a letter he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Obadiah Hughes, after they were set at liberty, he expressed himself thus :—

"BLESSED be God, that we can have, and hear of, each other's occasions of thanksgiving, that we may join praises as well as prayers, which I hope is done daily for one another. Nearer approaches and constant adherence to God, with the improvement of our interest in each other's heart, must compensate, and I hope will abundantly, the unkindness and instability of a surly, treacherous world, that we see still retains its wayward temper, and grows more peevish as it grows

older, and more ingenious in inventing ways to torment whom it disaffects. It was, it seems, not enough to kill by one single death, but when that was almost done, to give leave and time to respire, to live again, at least in hope that it might have the renewed pleasure of putting us to a farther pain and torture in dying once more. Spite is natural to her. All her kindness is an artificial disguise ; a device to promote and serve the design of the former, with the more efficacious and piercing malignity. But patience will elude the design, and blunt its sharpest edge. It is perfectly defeated when nothing is expected from it but mischief ; for then the worst it can threaten finds us provided, and the best it can promise incredulous, and not apt to be imposed upon. This will make it at last despair and grow hopeless, when it finds that the more it goes about to mock and vex us, the more it teaches and instructs us ; and that as it is wickedder, we are wiser. If we cannot, God will outwit it, and carry us, I trust, safe through, to a better world, upon which we may terminate hopes that will never make us ashamed."

He continued still in those western counties, and went much from one gentleman's house to another, and was ready, wherever he came, to do any service he was able ; and at length, in the year 1668, he was prevailed with to print a book,

which met with wonderful acceptance in the world, and not undeservedly, if either the subject be considered, or the happy management of it. I remember it was an usual saying of Dr. Henry More, who has been already mentioned once and again, that "if any man had but written, his works would best show to all intelligent readers what he was." Perhaps this is as true of Mr. Howe as of most men that ever appeared in print. For in some of his writings he has drawn his own very picture, without any disguise or artifice.

The first thing of his that was published was a sermon from Ecclesiastes vii. 29, upon "Man's Creation in an holy but mutable State." It is to be met with in "The Morning Exercise Methodized," printed in 1660. But he at this time published a discourse entitled, "The Blessedness of the Righteous," from Psalm xvii. 15 ; being, as I am informed, sermons preached while he was at Torrington ; and this is a treatise that has been well received and greatly valued, by the most serious and judicious of all persuasions.

There is something in the preface of this work, that I take to be extremely fine, and that should not be passed over lightly, according to the usual way for the generality of common readers. He there says of that discourse of his,—

"That the design of it is wholly practical, and it hath little or nothing to do with disputation. If there be any whose business it is to promote

a private divided interest, or who place the sum of their religion in an inconsiderable and doubtful opinion, it doth not unhallow their altars, nor offer any affront to their idol. It intends no quarrel to any contending angry party ; but deals upon things, in the substance whereof Christians are at a professed agreement ; and hath therefore the greater probability of doing good to some, without the offence of any. It is indeed equally matter of complaint and wonder, that men can find so much leisure to avert from such things wherein there is so much both of delight and pleasure, unto what one would think should have little of temptation or allurements in it,—contentious jangling. It might rather be thought, its visible fruits and tendencies should render it the most dreadful thing to every serious beholder. What tragedies hath it wrought in the Christian church ! Into how weak and languishing a condition hath it brought the religion of professed Christians ! Hence have risen the intemperate preternatural heats and angers that have spent its strength and spirits ; and make it look with so meagre and pale a face. We have had a greater mind to dispute than live ; and to contend about what we know not, than to practise the far greater things we know, and which more directly tend to nourish and maintain the divine life. The author of that ingenious sentence, *Pruritus disputandi scabies ecclesiæ*, whoever

he were, hath fitly expressed what is the noisome product of the itch of disputing. It hath begot the ulcerous tumours, which, besides their own offensive soreness, drain the body, and turn what should nourish that into nutriment to themselves. And its effects are not more grievous, than the pleasures which it affects and pursues are uncouth and unnatural: 'the rough touch of an ungentle hand. That only pleases which exasperates:' as Seneca the moralist aptly expresses some like disaffection of diseased minds: 'Toil and vexation is their only delight; and what to a sound spirit would be a pain is to these a pleasure.'

"Which is indeed the triumph of the disease, that it adds unto torment, reproach and mockery, and imposes upon men by so ridiculous a delusion, (while they are made to take pleasure in punishing themselves,) that even the most sober can scarce look on in a fitter posture than with a compassionate smile. All which were yet somewhat more tolerable, if that imagined vanishing pleasure were not the whole of their gain; or if it were to be hoped, that so great a present real pain and smart should be recompensed with as real a consequent fruit and advantage. But we know that, generally, by how much any thing is more disputable, the less it is necessary or conducive to the Christian life. God hath graciously provided, that what we are to live by should not cost

us so dear. And possibly as there is the less occasion of disputing about the more momentous things of religion, so there may be somewhat more of modesty and awe, in reference to what is so confessedly venerable and sacred, (though too many are over-bold even here also,) than so foolishly trifle with such things. Therefore more commonly, where that humour prevails, men divert from those plainer things, with some slighter and more superficial reverence to them, but more heartily esteeming them insipid and jejune, because they have less in them to gratify their appetite, and betake themselves to such things about which they may more plausibly contend; and then what pitiful trifles often take up their time and thoughts! Questions and problems of like weighty importance (very often) with those which Seneca tells us, this disease among the Greeks prompted them to trouble themselves about, as, 'What number of rowers Ulysses had? Which was written first, the Iliad or the Odysseys? so that,' as he saith, 'they spend their lives very operosely doing nothing: their conceits being such, that if they kept them to themselves, they could yield them no fruit; and if they published them to others, they should not seem thereby the more learned, but the more troublesome.' And is it not," says he, "to be resented, that men should sell away the solid strength and vital joy, which a serious soul

would find in substantial religion, for such toys? Yea, and not only famish themselves, but trouble the world, and embroil the church with their impertinencies! If a man be drawn forth to defend an important truth against an injurious assault, it were treacherous self-love to purchase his own peace by declining it. Or, if he did sometimes turn his thoughts to some of our petty questions, that with many are so hotly agitated, for recreation' sake, or to try his wit, and exercise his reason without stirring his passions, to the disturbance of others or himself; here an innocent divertisement is the best purpose that things of that nature are capable of serving. But when contention becomes a man's element, and he cannot live out of that fire; strains his wit, and racks his invention to find matter of quarrel; is resolved nothing said or done by others shall please him, only because he means to please himself in dissenting; disputes only that he may dispute, and loves dissension for itself; this is the unnatural humour that hath so unspeakably troubled the church, and debased religion, and filled men's souls with wind and vanity, yea, with fire and fury. This hath made Christians gladiators, and the Christian world a clamorous theatre, while men have equally affected to contend, and to make ostentation of their ability to do so."

Some time after this, he was earnestly invited

by a person of considerable quality into Ireland, and had generous offers made him. He accepted the motion with the greater readiness, and looked upon it as the more providential, because by this time he was reduced to straits, and his circumstances were but low ; which is not at all to be wondered at, considering that he had for some years been out of any settled employment, and had but a small income, several in family, and a generous spirit of his own, which inclined him upon all occasions to make the best figure he was able. He set sail for Dublin (as I am informed) in the beginning of April, 1671. And here I have a memorable passage to relate, which I have from such hands that I cannot question the truth of it. When he went for Ireland, taking his eldest son along with him, he was for embarking at a town in Wales, the name of which my informant has forgotten, but I suppose it was Holyhead. The wind not serving to carry them off, they continued there a Lord's day; and found a large parish church, in which prayers only were to be read as usually, but no preaching was expected. The company that was with Mr. Howe, and waited for a wind, were pretty numerous ; and they were desirous to find out some private place by the sea-side, where he might preach to them. As they were walking along the sands in search of some such place, they met two men on horseback riding towards the town, who

proved to be the Parson of the parish and his Clerk. The Clerk was asked by one in the company, whether his master preached that day. "No," said he, "my master does not use to preach; he only reads prayers." Upon which it was farther inquired whether he thought his master would be willing to give leave to a Minister that was in their company, who was going for Ireland, but waiting for a wind, to make use of his pulpit that day in his room. He answered, he believed very willingly; and they found it so, when the Clerk had once made the motion to him. Hereupon Mr. Howe and the rest of them returned back to the town, and he preached that day twice to them in the church; and in the afternoon the auditory was very large, and seemed to be not a little affected with what was delivered. The wind not serving all the week following, the country all round those parts took notice that neither the vessel nor the Minister were gone; and therefore, on the Lord's day after, they came flocking into the town, expecting he would preach that day also. There was a prodigious multitude gathered together; and the Parson, who had had no thoughts about the matter, nor made the least motion for any farther assistance from the stranger, observing it, was in no small consternation. Preach himself he could not; for he had not of a long time been used to it, and he was altogether unprovided;

and if he did not employ the stranger, it would lessen his reputation greatly ; but then he did not know, whether, as things stood, he could be able to prevail with him. However, he sent his Clerk to Mr. Howe, and begged he would come and preach again, for that otherwise he knew not what to do, the country being come in from several miles round, in hope of hearing him. Mr. Howe, having been much indisposed, was in bed, and in a great sweat when he received the message, and that made him at first doubtful whether he had best venture to comply. But considering with himself that here was a plain call of Providence, and not knowing but much good might be done in such a place, where preaching was so uncommon a thing, and the people seemed so desirous of the word of God, he sent word he would do it ; and cooled himself with as much speed as he was able with safety, and cast himself upon God, and went and preached with great life and freedom ; and he told my informant, that he never in all his life saw people more moved, or receive the word with greater pleasure. And he at the same time added these words, “ If my ministry was ever of any use, I think it must be then.” Very soon after the vessel went off, and he found no ill effects or consequences at all of the pains he took in such circumstances.

At length he had his whole family with him in

Ireland, where he lived as Chaplain to the Lord Massarene, in the parish of Antrim, and was received and treated with all imaginable respect. His great learning and Christian temper, together with that Lord's interest and influence, procured him the particular friendship of the Bishop of that diocese, who, together with his Metropolitan, without demanding any conformity, gave him free liberty to preach in the public church in that town every Lord's day in the afternoon: and I have been informed that the Archbishop, in a pretty full meeting of the Clergy, told them frankly, that he would have Mr. Howe have every pulpit, where he had any concern, open to him, in which he at any time was free to preach. And he manifested his truly peaceable and Christian spirit, both in his preaching and conversation, and was useful to many.

In the very year in which he settled here, he published a noble discourse upon "the Vanity of this mortal Life, or of Man, considered only in this present mortal State," from Psalm lxxxix. 47, 48; which discourse is usually bound up with his "Blessedness of the Righteous." There is an epistle before this sermon dated from Antrim, in 1671 to John Upton, of Lupton in Devon, Esq., his kinsman, signifying that it was composed upon occasion of the death of Anthony Upton, son of the said John, who had lived between twenty and thirty years in Spain,

and had promised to return home; and being earnestly expected, a sudden disease in so few days landed him in another world, that the first notice his friends had of his death or sickness, was by the arrival of that vessel, clad in mourning attire, which brought over the deserted body to its native place of Lupton: which providence was therefore the more affecting, because a meeting of the several branches of the family, who lived at distant places, having been appointed, the place and occasion and design of it was this way altered; and no less than twenty, the brothers and sisters of the deceased, or their consorts, besides many nephews and nieces, and other relations, were brought together to the mournful solemnity of the interment. It has been the judgment of many, that this discourse is as noble a piece of true theological oratory as can be easily met with.

In 1674 he published his treatise of "Delighting in God," which was the substance of some sermons he had preached twenty years before to the people of Torrington, with some additions and enlargements. He dedicated them to his old friends, the inhabitants of that town, by a masculine, but, at the same time, most tender and affectionate, epistle to them from Antrim, in which he gives such an account of himself, as may very well heighten our idea of him. Speaking of the sermons which he then pub-

lished, he expresses himself in this glorious manner :—

“They aim at the promoting of the same end, which the course of my poor labours among you did, (as He that knoweth all things knoweth,) the serious practice of the great things of religion, which are known, and least liable to question; without designing to engage you to or against any party of them that differ about circumstantial matters. They tend to let you see, that formality in any way of religion, unaccompanied with life, will not serve your turn, as it will no man’s; than which there is nothing more empty, sapless, and void both of profit and delight. I have reflected and considered with some satisfaction, that this hath been my way, and the temper of my mind among you. Great reason I have to repent, that I have not with greater earnestness pressed upon you the known and important things wherein serious Christians do generally agree: but I repent not I have been so little engaged in the hot contests of our age, about the things wherein they differ. For as I pretend to little light in these things, (whence I could not have much confidence to fortify me to such an undertaking,) so I must profess to have little inclination to contend about matters of that kind. Nor yet am I indifferent as to these smaller things, that I cannot discern to be in their own nature so. But though I cannot avoid to think that

course right which I have deliberately chosen therein, I do yet esteem that but a small thing upon which to ground an opinion of my exceeding them that think otherwise, as if I knew more than they. For I have often recounted thus seriously with myself, that of every differing party, in those circumstantial matters, I do particularly know some persons by whom I find myself much excelled, in much greater things than is the matter of that difference. I cannot, it is true, thereupon say and think every thing that they do; which is impossible, since they differ from one another as well as me; and I understand well there are other measures of truth, than this or that excellent person's opinion: but I thereupon reckon I have little reason to be conceited of any advantage I have of such in point of knowledge; (even as little as he would have, that can sing or play well on a lute, of him that knows how to command armies, or govern a kingdom;) and can with the less confidence differ from them, or contend with them; being thereby, though I cannot find that I err in these matters, constrained to have some suspicion lest I do; and to admit it possible enough, that some of them who differ from me, having much more light in greater matters, may have so in these also. Besides that I most seriously think humility, charity, and patience would more contribute to the composing of these lesser differences, or to the good estate of the

Christian interest under them, than the most fervent disputes and contestations. I have upon such considerations little concerned myself in contending for one way or another, while I was among you ; or in censuring such as have differed from me, in such notions and practices as might consist with our common great end ; or as imported not manifest hostility thereto : contenting myself to follow the course that to my preponderating judgment seemed best, without stepping out of my way to jostle others. But I cannot be so patient of their practical disagreement, (not only with all serious Christians, but even their own judgments and consciences also,) who have no delight in God, and who take no pleasure in the very substance of religion." We may from hence take our measures of him both as a Minister and a Divine ; and can hardly forbear making this reflection, that it would be an unspeakable happiness, did but such a spirit as this prevail more among all the parties into which we are divided.

In 1675, upon the death of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, he had an invitation given him to come and fix in London, by a part of his congregation, and was earnestly pressed to accept of their call. There was some difference among them about the person in whom they should centre. Some were for Mr. Charnock, and others for Mr. Howe : and though they that wrote to him urged a vari-

ety of arguments and inducements, yet he could not so well judge of the matters alleged at a distance ; and was thereupon prevailed with to take a voyage into England, and make a visit at London, that he might view and judge of things upon the spot. He upon this occasion, which created him a great many thoughts, and in which he looked seriously upwards for conduct, committed some hints to writing, which have been preserved, and are here faithfully transcribed from an authentic copy.

The paper is inscribed after this manner:—

CONSIDERATIONS AND COMMUNINGS WITH MYSELF CONCERNING MY PRESENT JOURNEY,
DEC. 20th, 1675. BY NIGHT ON MY BED.

QUERY I. Have I not an undue design or self-respect in it ?

1. I know well I ought not to have any design for myself, which admits not of subordination to the interest and honour of the great God, and my Redeemer, and which is not actually so subordinated.

2. I understand the fearful evil and sinfulness of having such an undue design, that it is idolatry ; the taking another god, and making myself that god.

3. I find, through God's mercy, some sensible stirrings of hatred and detestation in my breast, of that wickedness, and a great apprehension of

the loveliness and beauty of a state of pure, entire devotedness to God in Christ, and of acting accordingly.

4. I have insisted on this chiefly in prayer to God, in reference to this business, ever since it was set on foot, that I might be sincere in it: and though I have earnestly begged light to guide me therein, so as that I might do that herein which in the substance of the thing is agreeable to the holy will of God, yet I have much more importunately prayed that I might be sincere in what I do, not only because I know God will pardon ignorance, unremedied by utmost endeavours, where he beholds sincerity, whereas he will never accept the knowledge of our duty, nor the doing what is in substance our duty, if that right manner of doing it, or principle whence it is done, be wanting; but also from the higher esteem I have of sincerity, above all light and knowledge without it, and the greater excellence of the thing itself.

5. I have carefully examined what selfish respects I can have in this matter. Is it worldly emolument? In this my heart acquits me in the sight of God. Is it that I affect to be upon a public stage, to be popular and applauded by men? To this I say, (1.) That I do verily believe, that I shall be lower in the eye and esteem of the people in London, when I come under their nearer view. I know myself incapa-

ble of pleasing their genius. I cannot contrive nor endure to preach with elaborate artifice. They will soon be weary when they hear nothing but plain discourses of such matters as are not new to them. Yea, and Ministers that now judge of me by what I have written, (when matter and words were in some measure weighed,) will find me when I converse with them, slow to apprehend things, slow to express my own apprehensions, unready, entangled, and obscure in my apprehensions and expressions: so that all will soon say, This is not the man we took him for. (2.) It displeases me not, that they should find and say this. I hope I should digest it well. (3.) I have found, blessed be God, that the applauses some have imprudently given me in letters, (as I have received many of that strain, very many long before this business, and that had no relation unto any such, that no eye hath ever since seen but my own,) an occasion and means to me of deep humiliation, when my own heart hath witnessed to me my miserable penury, and that I am thought to be what I am not. (4.) So far as I can find, I do not deliberately covet or desire esteem but for my work's sake, and the success of my work. Of applause I have often found an inward abhorrence. I both know I have nothing but what I have received, and that I have received a great deal less than many think I have: which I say with reflection on myself;

not to diminish the bounty of the free Giver, from whom I know I might have received much more, if I had sought and used His gifts aright. All the design I can more vehemently suspect myself of that looks like self-interest any way is, (1.) The improvement of my own knowledge, which I know there may be great opportunities for, if this journey should issue in my settlement at London. (2.) The disposal of my children. Yet I hope these things are eyed in subordination, and indifferently, so as not to sway with me against my duty.

QUERY II. Have I not a previous resolution of settling at London before I go up?

1. I have a resolution to do what I shall conceive shall make most to the usefulness of the rest of my life; which resolution I ought never to be without.

2. I am seriously yet at a loss as to judging this case, whether in this country or there.

3. If I can find clearly it is my duty to return in order to continuance at Antrim, I shall do it with high complacency.

QUERY III. Am I not afraid of miscarrying in this undertaken voyage, by shipwreck? &c.

1. I find little of that fear, I bless God.

2. Nor is it that I think I have attained any eminent degree of grace, that I am not afflicted with that fear; nay, more than that, I acknow-

ledge, to be delivered from such fear is itself a great mercy, and gracious vouchsafement.

3. I hope I am in a state of favour and acceptance with God, which I apprehend I owe to infinite, rich mercy in the Redeemer's blood. Great forgiveness I need ; for I am a miserable, sinful wretch : this, I trust, I have upon Gospel terms.

4. It is pleasant to me hereupon to think of going into eternity ; of laying down the body of flesh and sin and death together ; and of being perfectly holy, and associated with them that are so in holy work and enjoyment.

5. To put off this tabernacle so easily, I reckon would to me be a merciful dispensation, who am more afraid of sharp pains than of death. I think I should joyfully embrace those waves that should cast me on an undesigned shore, and when I intended Liverpool should land me in heaven.

6. Yet I bless God I have no weariness of life, nor of his work in this world, if he shall yet please farther to employ me here.

QUERY IV. But am I not solicitous, lest, if this should prove the event, it will be judged a testimony against me, as to this present undertaking ?

1. It is an honest design I go upon. I have, as I said, no selfish design that overweighs me in it. I have no design to prejudice Mr. C——,

I believe I shall do him no actual prejudice. Wherein I can justly befriend him, I go resolved to do it. If I can do any thing for the holding of the remainder together, without the neglect of greater work, I do apprehend I shall do a just and needful thing; but should do nothing if I had an opportunity, till I knew more. But,

2. To judge of the justice of a cause by the success, is a most unjust way of judging. Many a just business has miscarried. If I get well into the other world, such censures will be a small matter in my eye; and they are not great now.

3. God will accept my sincere intentions, though I effect nothing.

4. My journey was to me absolutely necessary, who could without it neither grant nor deny.

CONSOLATIONS TO MY WIFE AND OTHER RELATIONS, SUPPOSING THEY HEAR OF MY DEATH.

1. WHOM or what have you lost? A poor creature that could never be of much use to you.

2. You are to consider me, not as lost in my prime, but as now I am sensibly under great decays, and not likely to continue long, except some means hitherto not thought on should have been tried. What a summer had I of the last! seldom able to walk the streets; and not only

often disabled by pain but weakness. And what great advantage to you would it have been to see me die ! I know not when I have had so much ease and health as in this journey.

3. God not only hath determined the thing, we must die, but all circumstances, when and where, and after what manner, and all wisely and well. Why should you be grieved, that he hath done well ; not only well in itself, but well for you, if you love him ?

4. You must ere long follow, and shall not be always in this world without me.

5. What there is of evil in this case admits of remedy. Draw so much nearer to God, and cease from man ; mind heaven more, and your loss is made up.

6. I have, through the grace of God, preached immortal truth, which will survive, and may be to your advantage.

7. As to you who have dependence upon me for worldly concernments, I was never a good projector for the world ; so the loss is not great. How many, dear to God, make a shift in a worse condition ! Forget not the motto, " God will provide." He that feeds the ravens, and takes care of sparrows, will he not take care of you ? Are you of his family, and will he not take care of his own ? Instead of distrust and repining, give thanks. O bless him with all your soul, that he hath revealed and

given himself to you for an everlasting portion ; and whose covenant is to be your God, and the God of yours.

8. Let it be some satisfaction to you, that I go willingly, under no dread, with no regret, but with some comfortable knowledge of my way and end.

With such thoughts and workings of mind as these, did he undertake and pursue his voyage and journey ; and he arrived safe at London after having been five years in Ireland ; and, upon mature consideration, he accepted of the call that had been given him, and settled there, and made a quiet and peaceable use of King Charles's indulgence, preaching to a considerable and judicious auditory, by whom he was singularly respected ; and he was much esteemed, not only by his brethren in the ministry among the Dissenters, but also by several eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Dr. Whitchcot, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Lucas, and others, whom he often conversed with, and that with great freedom and familiarity.

CHAPTER IV.

MR. HOWE was no sooner settled in London, than he printed the first part of his "Living Temple ;" by which it was his design to improve that notion, that a good man is the temple of God. This first part is upon God's existence, and his conversibleness with man ; and against atheism, or the Epicurean deism. It is dedicated to the Lord Viscount Massarene, Governor of the county of Londonderry, and one of the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in the kingdom of Ireland ; and he signifies to his Lordship that this tract was conceived under his roof, and born out of his house ; and that he therefore thought it decent and just, that it should openly own the relation which it thereby had, and the author's great obligations, to his Lordship.

In the year 1677 he published a tract entitled, "The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men, with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels and Exhortations, and whatever Means he uses to prevent them : written by Way of Letter to the honourable Robert Boyle, Esq." This treatise was exceedingly admired by some, and as much opposed by others. Mr. Theophilus Gale, in particular, his old fellow collegiate, publishing about this time his fourth

part of "The Court of the Gentiles," made some animadversions upon it. Whereupon Mr. Howe added a postscript, in defence of the said letter, in which he makes a return to Mr. Gale's remarks. Mr. Danson also wrote against this tract, but I know not that Mr. Howe took any notice of him; though the ingenious Andrew Marvel Esq., made a very witty and entertaining reply to him.

In the time of the Popish plot, when things took quite a different turn from what they had done from the Restoration till then, and the city and whole body of the nation was full of terror and melancholy apprehensions, he made it his endeavour, among those with whom he had to do, to make the awful impressions which people were at that time under, serviceable to the purposes of serious religion; and in his conversation with the Clergy of the established Church, or with persons of quality and distinction, which was not unfrequent, he upon all occasions discovered a very peaceable and healing spirit, often giving it as his sense, that an accommodation of matters between the Church and the Dissenters would be the most effectual way to keep out Popery. And it has been the opinion of many, that a fitter season for an union could not well occur, than did then present itself. The House of Commons who sat at Westminster in 1680, seem to have been of that mind; and there-

fore they brought in a Bill for uniting His Majesty's Protestant subjects, and nothing was more commonly talked of at that time. And not being able to go through with it, they before they rose came to a resolution, that the Acts of Parliament made in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, against Popish recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters; and that the prosecution of Protestant Dissenters, upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

Mr. Howe had about this time an invitation from Bishop Lloyd, to come and dine with him the next day. He was apprehensive, it could not be without some particular design, that a Bishop whom he had not seen, or at least with whom he had no acquaintance, should send to desire him to come and dine with him. He sent his Lordship word, that he was engaged that day for dinner, (as he really was before the receipt of the message sent him,) but would not fail of waiting upon him afterwards. Hereupon the Bishop sent again, to let him know, that since he could not dine with him, he would not give him the trouble to come so far as his house, but would meet him at Dr. Tillotson's, the Dean of Canterbury. They met there accordingly, and the Bishop told him that the reason why he

desired a meeting with him was to know of him, what he thought would satisfy the Nonconformists, that so they might be taken into the Church. Mr. Howe answered, that he could not pretend to say what would satisfy any besides himself; for that all had not an equal latitude in such matters. The Bishop hereupon pressed him to give his judgment, what he thought would satisfy the most; for, says he, "I would have the terms so large as to comprehend the most of them." Mr. Howe told him, that he thought it would go a considerable way towards it, if the law was but so framed, as that Ministers might be enabled to promote parochial reformation. "Why," says the Bishop, "for that reason, I am for taking the Lay Chancellors quite away, as being the great hinderance of reformation." At length they agreed upon a meeting the next night, at seven o'clock, at Dr. Stillingfleet's, the Dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Howe proposed to bring Mr. Baxter along with him; but the Bishop would by no means allow of it. Then he proposed to bring Dr. Bates; and was answered, that no man could be more proper. Accordingly Dr. Bates and Mr. Howe went at seven in the evening to Dean Stillingfleet's, as had been appointed the day before. The Dean had provided a very handsome treat, but they found not the company they expected. They waited till eight, till nine, till near ten o'clock; but the Bishop neither

came, nor sent, nor took any notice of the matter afterwards. And that very night, as they heard the next morning, the Bill of Exclusion was thrown out of the House of Peers, by a majority of thirty voices, fourteen of which were Bishops. And after this there was no farther occasion for any talk about a comprehension.

For, upon this turn of affairs, it is observed by a celebrated writer on the Church' side, that "the Clergy struck up with zeal for the Duke's succession ; as if a Popish King had been a special blessing from heaven to be much longed for by a Protestant Church. They likewise gave themselves such a loose against the Nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that party. So that in all their sermons, Popery was quite forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against the Dissenters."* Amongst the rest, Dean Stillingfleet, from whom it was little expected, on the first day of Easter term, 1680, in a sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city, the Judges and Serjeants, from Phil. iii. 16, which sermon he entitled, "The Mischief of Separation," took occasion to represent all the Nonconformists as schismatics, and inveigh against them as enemies to peace, and dangerous to the Church, &c. This sermon was answered by Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Barret, and others ; and among the rest Mr.

* Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times.

Howe made some remarks upon it, in a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter written out of the Country to a Person of Quality in the City, who took Offence at the late Sermon of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, before the Lord Mayor;" which Letter was drawn up with great clearness and strength of reasoning. He therein shows how unreasonably the Doctor endeavours to keep the Dissenters, who after the utmost search could not be satisfied to conform, in a state of damnation, for scrupling the ceremonies; at least in a neglect of the necessary means of salvation. He shows his arguments, both *ad rem* and *ad hominem* too, to be unconcluding; reflects freely on the Doctor for his too great acrimony, and too little seriousness in his way of management; and yet closes with a very genteel and handsome address to such as were offended with the Doctor's sermon, to abate their indignation, and moderate their censures, and stir them up to turn their reflections upon him into serious prayers for him, for which he shows there was very just occasion.

The Doctor himself sticks not to own, that, in this letter, "he discourses gravely and piously, without bitterness and rancour, or any sharp reflections, and sometimes with a great mixture of kindness towards him, for which, and his prayers for him, he heartily thanks him."* This warm

* Preface to his "Unreasonableness of Separation."

sermon of the Doctor's was generally reckoned very ill-timed; to which it is not unlikely but Bishop Burnet may have a reference, when he says of that great man, that "he went into the humours of the high sort of people, beyond what became him; perhaps beyond his own sense of things."*

Nor can I forbear to take notice of another sermon, that was preached this year (1680) at Court, by Dean Tillotson, from Joshua xxiv. 15, entitled, "The Protestant Religion vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty." In this sermon there is this notion, that no man is obliged to preach against the religion of a country, though a false one, unless he has a power of working miracles. King Charles slept most part of the time while the sermon was delivered; and a certain nobleman stepped to him as soon as it was over, and said, "It is a pity your Majesty slept; for we had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life." "Odds fish, he shall print it then," says the King; and immediately called the Lord Chamberlain, and gave him his command to the Dean to print his sermon. When it came from the press, the Dean sent it as a present to Mr. Howe, as he usually did most of the things he printed. Mr. Howe immediately perused it, and was not a

* History of his Own Times.

little troubled to find a notion there, that had so ill a tendency as that forementioned. Whereupon he drew up a long letter, in which he freely expostulated with the Dean, for giving such a wound to the Reformation; signifying to him that Luther and Calvin, and the rest of our blessed Reformers, were (thanks be to God) of another mind. "The Christian religion," said he, "both as to its precepts and promises, is already confirmed by miracles; and must it be repealed, every time a wicked Governor thinks fit to establish a false religion? must no one stand up for the true religion, till he can work a miracle?" He signified to him how much he was grieved, that, in a sermon against Popery, he should plead the Popish cause against all the Reformers; and insisted upon it, that we had incontestable evidence of the miracles wrought by the Apostles, and that we are bound to believe them, and take religion to be established by them, without any farther expectations, &c. Mr. Howe carried the letter himself, and delivered it into the Dean's own hands; and he, taking a general and cursory view of it, signified his willingness to talk that whole matter freely over; but said, they could not be together where they were, without interruption, and therefore moved for a little journey into the country, that so they might have freedom of discourse. They accordingly agreed to go and dine that day with the

Lady Falconbridge at Sutton-court, and Mr. Howe read over the letter to the Dean, and enlarged upon the contents of it, as they were travelling along together in his chariot. The good man at length fell to weeping freely, and said that this was the most unhappy thing that had of a long time befallen him. "I see," says he, "what I have offered is not to be maintained." But he told him, that it was not his turn to preach as on that day. He that should have been the Preacher being sick, the Dean said, he was sent to by the Lord Chamberlain to supply his place ; and he added, that he had but little notice, and so considered the general fears of Popery, and this text offered itself, and he thought the notion resulted from it : "And," says he, "immediately after preaching, I received a command from the King to print the sermon, and then it was not in my power to alter it." I am the better satisfied that there is no mistake as to the substance of this passage, because he from whom I had it did not trust to his bare memory, but committed it to writing, presently after he received the account from Mr. Howe himself. And though such a story as this may make us sensible that the very best of men have their slips, yet am I far from thinking it a dishonour to this great man to be open to conviction.

In 1681 the Dissenters were prosecuted with great violence both in city and country, and the

severe laws that had been made against them some years before, as well as some that were made against the Papists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were rigorously put in execution against them, without any favour. Several of the Bishops concurred, and, by influence from Court, were prevailed with to do their endeavour to push forward the Civil Magistrate, and to sharpen the rigour of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and that in defiance of the votes of the House of Commons in their favour. And, as Bishop Burnet observes, "such of the Clergy as would not engage in the common fury were cried out upon as the betrayers of the Church, and as secret favourers of the Dissenters."* The author of the Complete History of England says, that "this year there was a vigorous prosecution of the Protestant Dissenters, which was generally thought a piece of Court artifice, to play the Church of England against the Dissenters, and enrage the Dissenters against the Church of England, that they might not unite and see their common danger, but rather, by destroying one another, might make room for a third party, that lay behind the curtain, and watched an opportunity of the Duke's succession." And at this juncture, Mr. Howe published "A Discourse of Thoughtfulness for the Morrow; with an Ap-

* History of his Own Times.

pendix, concerning the immoderate Desire of foreknowing Things to come," in 8vo. It is dedicated to the Lady Anne Wharton, of Upper-Winchington in the county of Bucks, who had expressed a desire of seeing somewhat written on that subject. To which is added, "A Discourse of Charity, in reference to other Men's Sins," from 1 Cor. xiii. 6. He this year also published "A Funeral Sermon on the Decease of Mrs. Margaret Baxter, who died June 28th," from 2 Cor. v. 8.

In 1682 things were much in the same state as the year before. This year also Mr. Howe published several little things; as, "A Discourse on the right Use of that Argument in Prayer, from the Name of God, on behalf of a People that profess it," from Jeremiah xiv. 21, 8vo.; "A Discourse on Self-Dedication, at the Anniversary Thanksgiving of the Earl of Kildare, for a great Deliverance," 12mo.; and "A Funeral Sermon on Mr. Richard Fairclough, who deceased July 4th," from Matt. xxv. 21. And he now drew up those Annotations on the three Epistles of St. John, which are to be met with in the second volume, or continuation of Mr. Pool.

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CHAPTER V.

IN 1683 there was a most cruel order made by the Justices of Peace at the Quarter-Sessions at Exon, against all Nonconforming Ministers, allowing a reward of forty shillings to any person that apprehended any one of them, and declaring their resolution to put in execution against them the severest laws, and particularly that of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, the penalties whereof are imprisonment, abjuration of the realm, or death. And Bishop Lamplugh (who was afterwards Archbishop of York) required the order to be read by all the Clergy on the next Sunday after it should be tendered to them, on purpose, as was said, that the care of the Justices of Devon, for the preservation of the public peace, might be fuller known, and have a better effect.

The same year there was published in "the Continuation of the Morning Exercise," an excellent sermon of Mr. Howe's, from Col. ii. 2, upon this question, "What may most hopefully be attempted, to allay animosities among Protestants, that our divisions may not be our ruin?"

"In order to this, he earnestly recommends to all the professors of religion, the maintaining of a sincere love to one another, and the improving of their faith to greater measures of clearness, certainty, and efficacy, in reference to the sub-

stantials of Christianity. A generous love, not to Christians of this or that party or denomination only, but to all in whom the true essentials of Christianity are found, would," he says, "greatly contribute to the vigour of the Christian life. It would inspire Christians generally with a sacred courage and fortitude, when they should know and even feel themselves knit together in love. It would, on the contrary, extinguish or abate the unhallowed fire of our anger and wrath towards one another. It would oblige us to all acts of mutual kindness and friendship. Prejudices would cease, and jealousies concerning each other, and a mutual confidence would be produced. It would make us earnestly covet an entire union in all the things wherein we differ, and contribute greatly to it. It would make us much more apt to yield to one another, and abate all that ever we can, in order to as full an accommodation as is any way possible, that if we cannot agree upon either extreme, we might at last meet in the middle. It would make us abstain from mutual censures of one another as insincere for our remaining differences; and convince us that such censures are very unreasonable, because all have not the same understanding, nor the same gust and relish of things. It would oblige us, after competent endeavours of mutual satisfaction about the matters wherein we differ, to forbear farther urging of one another concerning them :

and it would make us forbear reviling and exposing one another, and the industrious seeking one another's ruin. And then if, at the same time, we did but endeavour to have our souls possessed with a more clear, efficacious, practical faith of the Gospel, and our hearts so overcome, as practically and vitally to receive it, we should apprehend the things to be truly great wherein we are to unite, and should, in comparison, apprehend all things else to be little; and so should be more strongly inclined to hold together by the things wherein we agree, than to contend with one another about the things wherein we differ. Thus our religion would revive, and become a vital powerful thing; and consequently more grateful to God, and awful to men. And if we in our several particular stations are but herein careful, if we but do our own part, we may be able to say, 'It was not our fault, but Christians had been combined, and entirely one with each other; but they had been more thoroughly Christian, and more entirely united with God in Christ; and that Christianity had been a more lively, powerful, awful, amiable thing. If the Christian community moulder, decay, be enfeebled, broken, dispirited, and ruined in great part, this ruin shall not rest under our hands.'"

On July 20th, this year, that noble patriot, William, Lord Russell, was beheaded in Lincoln's-inn-fields, to the no small terror and consterna-

tion of the true lovers of their country, and friends of the Protestant religion. This was a severe stroke upon the Bedford family, and an unspeakable loss to the excellent lady, who was left a mournful widow, and continued so to the year 1723, when she went to her grave full of years. Mr. Howe, upon this melancholy occasion, wrote a consolatory letter to her, which very well deserves to be preserved, and transmitted to posterity; an authentic copy of which, having been kept safe in his family, here follows :—

“MADAM,

“IT can avail you nothing, to let your Honour know from what hand this paper comes; and my own design in it is abundantly answered, if what it contains proves useful to you. Your affliction hath been great, unspeakably beyond what it is in my power or design to represent: and your supports, in the paroxysm of your affliction, have been very extraordinary; and such as wherein all that have observed or heard, could not but acknowledge a divine hand.

“But your affliction was not limited and enclosed within the limits of one black day, nor is like those more common ones, the sense whereof abates and wears off by time; but is continued, and probably more felt, as time runs on: which therefore makes you need continued help from heaven every day.

“ Yet there is here a great difference between what expectations we may have of divine assistance, in the beginning or first violence of some great affliction ; and in the continued course of it afterwards. At first we are apt to be astonished, a consternation seizes our thinking faculty, especially as to that exercise of it whereby it should minister to our relief. In this case the merciful God doth more extraordinarily assist such as sincerely trust and resign themselves to him ; unto these, as his more peculiar favourites, his sustaining influences are more immediate, and more efficacious, so as even, in the present exigency, to prevent and supersede any endeavour of theirs whereof they are then less capable. And of the largeness and bounty of his goodness, in such a case, few have had greater experience than your Ladyship ; which was eminently seen, in that magnanimity, that composure and presentness of mind, much admired by your friends, and no doubt by the special favour of heaven afforded you in the needful season : so that while that amazing calamity was approaching, and stood in nearer view, nothing that was fit or wise or great was omitted ; nothing indecent done. Which is not now said, God knows, to flatter your Ladyship, whereof the progress will farther vindicate me : for I ascribe it to God, as I trust your Ladyship, with unfeigned gratitude, will also do. And I mention it, as that whereby you are under

obligation to endeavour, your continued temper and deportment may be agreeable to such beginnings.

“For now, which is the other thing, whereof a distinct observation ought to be had, in the continuance and settled state of the affliction, when the fury of the first assault is over, and we have had leisure to recollect ourselves, and recover our dissipated spirits, though we are then more sensible of pain and smart, yet also the power of using our own thoughts is restored. And being so, although we are too apt to use them to our greater hurt and prejudice, we are really put again into a capacity of using them to our advantage, which our good God doth in much wisdom and righteousness require we should do. Whereupon we are to expect his continual assistance for our support under continued affliction, in the way of concurrence and co-operation with our due use of our own thoughts, aptly chosen, as much as in us is, and designed by ourselves, for our own comfort and support.

“Now as for thoughts suitable to your Honour’s case, I have reason to be conscious that what I shall write can make but little accession, I will not say to a closet, but to a mind, so well furnished as you are owner of: yet I know it is remote from you to slight a well-intended offer and essay, that really proceeds only from a very compassionate sense of your sorrows, and

unfeigned desire to contribute something (if the Father of mercies and the God of all comforts and consolations will please to favour the endeavour) to your relief.

“And the thoughts which I shall most humbly offer will have that first and more immediate design, but to persuade your making use of your own; that is, that you would please to turn and apply them to subjects more apt to serve this purpose, the moderating your own grief, and the attaining an habitual well-tempered cheerfulness, for your remaining time in this world. For I consider how incident it is to the afflicted, to indulge to themselves an unlimited liberty in their sorrows, to give themselves up to them, to make them meat and drink, to justify them in all their excesses, as that otherwise good and holy man of God did his anger, and say, they do well to be sorrowful even to the death, and, as another, to refuse to be comforted. And I also consider that our own thoughts must, and will, always be the immediate ministers either of our trouble or comfort, though, as to the latter, God only is the supreme Author; and we altogether insufficient to think any thing that is good, as of ourselves. It is God that comforts those that are cast down, but by our own thoughts employed to that purpose, not without them.

“I do not doubt, Madam, but if you once fixedly apprehend that there is sin in an over-

abounding sorrow, you will soon endeavour its restraint: for I cannot think you would more earnestly set yourself to avoid any thing, than what you apprehend will offend God, especially the doing that in a continued course. Is there any time when joy in God is a duty? It is very plain the sorrow that excludes it is a sin. How the former may appear to be a duty, and how far, let it be considered.

“It is not to be doubted but that He that made us hath a right to rule us; He that gave us being, to give us law: nor again, that the divine government reaches our minds, and that they are the prime and first seat of his empire. His kingdom is within us. We are not, then, to exercise our thoughts, desires, love, joy, or sorrow, according to our own will, but his; not as we please, or find ourselves inclined, but suitably to his precepts and purposes, his rules and ends.

“It is evident that, withal, the earthly state is mixed, intermediate between the perfect felicity of heaven, and the total misery of hell; and farther, that the temper of our spirits ought to have in it a mixture of joy and sorrow, proportionable to our state, or what there is in it of the just occasions or causes of both.

“Where Christianity obtains, and the Gospel of our Saviour is preached, there is much greater cause of joy than elsewhere. The visible aspect of it imports a design to form men’s minds to

gladness, inasmuch as, wheresoever it comes, it proclaims peace to the world, and represents the offended Majesty of heaven willing to be reconciled to his offending creatures on earth. So the angel prefaced the Gospel, when our Lord was born into the world, 'I tell you glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.' (Luke ii. 10.) And so the multitude of accompanying angels sum it up: 'Glory be to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will towards men.'

"To them that truly receive the Gospel, and with whom it hath its effect, the cause of rejoicing riseth much higher. For if the offer and hope of reconciliation be a just ground of joy, how much more actual agreement with God, upon the terms of the Gospel, and reconciliation itself! 'We rejoice in God through Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement.' (Rom. v. 11.) To such there are express precepts given to 'rejoice in the Lord always.' (Phil. iv. 4.) And lest that should be thought to have been spoken hastily, and that it might have its full weight, that great Apostle immediately adds, 'And again I say to you, Rejoice.' And elsewhere, 'Rejoice evermore.' (1 Thess. v. 16.)

"Hence therefore the genuine right temper and frame of a truly Christian mind and spirit may be evidently concluded to be this, (for such precepts do not signify nothing, nor can they be understood to signify less,) namely, an habitual

joyfulness, prevailing over all the temporary occasions of sorrow that occur to them. For none can be thought of that can preponderate, or be equal to the just and great causes of their joy. This is the true frame, model, and constitution of the kingdom of God, which ought to have place in us : herein it consists ; namely, in ‘righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.’ (Rom. xiv. 17.)

“Nor is this a theory only, or the idea and notion of an excellent temper of spirit, which we may contemplate indeed, but can never attain to. For we find it also to have been the attainment and usual temper of Christians heretofore, that ‘being justified by faith,’ and having ‘peace with God,’ they have rejoiced ‘in hope of the glory of God,’ unto that degree, as even to ‘glory in their tribulations also ;’ (Rom. v. 1—3 ;) and that, in the confidence they should be kept by the ‘power of God, through faith unto salvation,’ they have hereupon ‘greatly rejoiced,’ though with some mixture of ‘heaviness,’ whereof there was need, from their ‘ manifold trials.’ But that their joy did surmount and prevail over their heaviness, is manifest ; for this is spoken of with much diminution, whereas they are said to ‘rejoice greatly,’ and ‘with a joy unspeakable and full of glory.’ (1 Pet. i. 5—8.)

“Yea, and such care hath the great God taken for the preserving of this temper of spirit among

his people more anciently, that even their sorrow for sin itself, the most justifiable of all other, hath had restraints put upon it, lest it should too long exclude or intermit the exercise of this joy. For when a great assembly of them were universally in tears, upon hearing the law read, and the sense given, they were forbidden to weep or mourn, or be sorry, because the joy of the Lord was their strength. (Neh. viii. 8—10.) That most just sorrow had been unjust, had it been continued, so as to exclude the seasonable turn and alternation of this joy. For even such sorrow itself is not required, or necessary for itself. It is remote from the goodness and benignity of God's ever-blessed nature, to take pleasure in the sorrows of his people, as they are such, or that they should sorrow for sorrow's sake ; but only as a means and preparative to their following joy. And nothing can be more unreasonable, than that the means should exclude the end, or be used against the purpose they should serve.

“It is then upon the whole most manifest, that no temporary affliction whatsoever, upon one who stands in special relation to God, as a reconciled (and which is consequent, an adopted) person, though attended with the most aggravating circumstances, can justify such a sorrow, so deep or so continued, as shall prevail against and shut out a religious holy joy, or hinder it from being the prevailing principle in such a one. What

can make that sorrow allowable or innocent, (what event of Providence, that can, whatever it is, be no other than an accident to our Christian state,) that shall resist the most natural design and end of Christianity itself? that shall deprave and debase the truly Christian temper, and disobey and violate most express Christian precepts, subvert the constitution of Christ's kingdom among men, and turn this earth (the place of God's treaty with the inhabitants of it, in order to their reconciliation to himself, and to the reconciled the portal and gate of heaven, yea, and where the state of the very worst and most miserable has some mixture of good in it, that makes the evil of it less than that of hell) into a mere hell to themselves, of sorrow without mixture, and wherein shall be nothing but weeping and wailing?

“The cause of your sorrow, Madam, is exceeding great. The causes of your joy are inexpressibly greater. You have infinitely more left than you have lost. Doth it need to be disputed whether God be better and greater than man? or more to be valued, loved, and delighted in? and whether an eternal relation be more considerable than a temporary one? Was it not your constant sense in your best outward state, ‘Whom have I in heaven but thee, O God; and whom can I desire on earth, in comparison of thee?’ (Psalm lxxiii. 25.) Herein the state of your Ladyship’s

case is still the same, if you cannot rather with greater clearness, and with less hesitation, pronounce those latter words. The principal causes of your joy are immutable, such as no supervening thing can alter. You have lost a most pleasant, delectable, earthly relative. Doth the blessed God hereby cease to be the best and most excellent good? Is his nature changed, his everlasting covenant reversed and annulled? which is 'ordered in all things and sure,' and is to be 'all your salvation and all your desire, whether he make your house' on earth 'to grow,' or 'not to grow.' (2 Sam. xxiii. 5.) That sorrow which exceeds the proportion of its cause, compared with the remaining true and real causes of rejoicing, is in that excess causeless; that is, that excess of it wants a cause, such as can justify or afford defence unto it.

"We are required, in reference to our nearest relations in this world, when we lose them, 'to weep as if we wept not,' as well as, when we enjoy them, to 'rejoice as if we rejoiced not,' because 'our time here is short, and the fashion of this world passeth away.' (1 Cor. vii. 29—31.) We are finite beings, and so are they. Our passions in reference to them must not be infinite, and without limit, or be limited only by the limited capacity of our nature, so as to work to the utmost extent of that, as the fire burns, and the winds blow, as much as they can: but they are

to be limited by the power, design, and endeavour of our reason and grace, (not only by the mere impotency of our nature,) in reference to all created objects. Whereas in reference to the infinite uncreated good, towards which there is no danger or possibility of exceeding in our affection, we are never to design to ourselves any limits at all; for that would suppose we had loved God enough, or as much as he deserved, which were not only to limit ourselves, but him too; and were a constructive denial of his infinite immense goodness, and consequently of his very Godhead. Of so great concernment it is to us, that, in the liberty we give our affections, we observe the just difference which ought to be in their exercise, towards God, and towards creatures.

“It is also to be considered, that the great God is pleased so to condescend, as himself to bear the name, and sustain the capacity, of our nearest earthly relations; which implies that what they were to us, in this or that kind, he will be in a transcendent and far more noble kind. I doubt not but your Ladyship hath good right to apply to yourself those words of the Prophet, ‘Thy Maker is thy husband,’ &c. (Isaiah liv. 5.) Whereupon, as he infinitely transcends all that is delectable in the most excellent earthly relation, it ought to be endeavoured, that the affection placed on him should proportionably

excel. I cannot think any person in the world would be a more severe or impartial judge of a criminal affection than your Ladyship ; or that it would look worse unto any eye, if any one should so deeply take to heart the death of an unrelated person, as never to take pleasure more in the life, presence, and conversation of one most nearly related. And you do well know that such an height (or that supremacy) of affection, as is due to the ever-blessed God, cannot, without great injury, be placed any where else. As we are ‘to have none other God before him ;’ so him alone we are ‘to love with all our heart and soul, and might and mind.’

“ And it ought farther to be remembered, that whatsoever interest we have or had in any the nearest relative on earth, His interest who made both is far superior. He made us and all things primarily for himself, to serve great and important ends of his own ; so that our satisfaction in any creature is but secondary and collateral to the principal design of its creation.

“ Which consideration would prevent a practical error and mistake that is too usual with pious persons, afflicted with the loss of any near relation, that they think the chief intention of such a providence is their punishment. And hereupon they are apt to justify the utmost excesses of their sorrow, upon such an occasion, accounting they can never be sensible enough of the divine

displeasure appearing in it; and make it their whole business, or employ their time and thoughts beyond a due proportion, to find out and fasten upon some particular sin of theirs, which they may judge God was offended with them for, and designed now to punish upon them. It is indeed the part of filial ingenuity, deeply to apprehend the displeasure of our father, and an argument of great sincerity, to be very inquisitive after any sin for which we may suppose him displeased with us, and apt to charge ourselves severely with it, though perhaps, upon utmost inquiry, there is nothing particularly to be reflected on, other than common infirmity incident to the best, (and it is well when at length we can make that judgment, because there really is no more, not for that we did not inquire,) and perhaps also God intended no more in such a dispensation, as to what concerned us in it, than only, in the general, to take off our minds and hearts more from this world, and draw them more entirely to himself. For if we were never so innocent, must therefore such a relative of ours have been immortal? But the error in practice as to this case lies here; not that our thoughts are much exercised this way, but too much. We ought to consider in every case, principally, that which is principal. God did not create this or that excellent person, and place him for a while in the world, principally to please us; nor therefore

doth he take him away, principally to displease or punish us; but for much nobler and greater ends which he hath proposed to himself concerning him. Nor are we to reckon ourselves so little interested in the great and sovereign Lord of all, whom we have taken to be our God, and to whom we have absolutely resigned and devoted ourselves, as not to be obliged to consider, and satisfy ourselves in, his pleasure, purposes, and ends, more than our own, apart from his.

“Such as he hath pardoned, accepted, and prepared for himself, are to serve and glorify him in a higher and more excellent capacity, than they ever could in this wretched world of ours, and wherein they have themselves the highest satisfaction. When the blessed God is pleased in having attained and accomplished the end and intendments of his own boundless love, (too great to be satisfied with the conferring of only temporary favours in this imperfect state,) and they are pleased in partaking the full effects of that love; who are we, that we should be displeased? or that we should oppose our satisfaction to that of the glorious God, and his glorified creature? Therefore, Madam, whereas you cannot avoid to think much on this subject, and to have the removal of that incomparable person for a great theme of your thoughts, I do only propose most humbly to your Honour, that you would not confine them to the sadder and darker part of

that theme. It hath also a bright side ; and it equally belongs to it to consider whither he is gone, and to whom, as whence and from whom. Let, I beseech you, your mind be more exercised in contemplating the glories of that state your blessed consort is translated unto, which will mingle pleasure and sweetness with the bitterness of your afflicting loss, by giving you a daily intellectual participation (through the exercise of faith and hope) in his enjoyments. He cannot descend to share with you in your sorrows : you may thus every day ascend, and partake with him in his joys. He is a pleasant subject to consider : a prepared spirit made meet for an inheritance with them that are sanctified, and with the saints in light, now entered into a state so connatural, and wherein it finds every thing the most agreeable to itself. How highly grateful is it to be united with the true centre, and come home to the Father of Spirits ! to consider how pleasant a welcome, how joyful an entertainment, he hath met with above ! how delighted an associate he is with ‘ the general assembly, the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect ! ’ how joyful an homage he continually pays to the throne of the celestial King !

“ Will your Ladyship think that a hard saying of our departing Lord to his mournful disciples, ‘ If ye loved me, ye would rejoice that I said, I go to the Father ; for my Father is greater than

I?’ As if he had said, ‘He sits enthroned in higher glory than you can frame any conception of, by beholding me in so mean a condition on earth.’ We are as remote, and as much short in our thoughts, as to the conceiving the glory of the supreme King, as a peasant, who never saw any thing better than his own cottage, from conceiving the splendour of the most glorious Prince’s court. But if that faith, which is ‘the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen,’ be much accustomed to its proper work and business, the daily delightful visiting and viewing the glorious invisible regions; if it be often conversant in those vast and spacious tracts of pure and brightest light, and amongst the holy inhabitants that replenish them; if it frequently employ itself in contemplating their comely order, perfect harmony, sublime wisdom, unspotted purity, most fervent mutual love, delicious conversation with one another, and perpetual pleasant consent in their adoration and observance of their eternal King! who is there to whom it would not be a solace to think I have such and such friends and relatives, some perhaps as dear as my own life, perfectly well pleased, and happy among them! How can your love, Madam, (so generous a love towards so deserving an object!) how can it but more fervently sparkle in joy, for his sake, than dissolve in tears for your own?

“Nor should such thoughts excite over-hasty

impatient desires of following presently into heaven, but to the endeavours of serving God more cheerfully on earth for our appointed time: which I earnestly desire your Ladyship would apply yourself to, as you would not displease God, who is your only hope; nor be cruel to yourself, nor dishonour the religion of Christians, as if they had no other consolations than this earth can give, and earthly power take from them. Your Ladyship, if any one, would be loath to do any thing unworthy your family and parentage. Your highest alliance is to that Father and family above, whose dignity and honour are, I doubt not, of highest account with you.

“I multiply words, being loath to lose my design. And shall only add that consideration, which cannot but be valuable with you, upon his first proposal, who had all the advantages imaginable to give it its full weight; I mean that of those dear pledges left behind: my own heart even bleeds to think of the case of those sweet babes, should they be bereaved of their other parent too. And even your continued visible dejection would be their unspeakable disadvantage. You will always naturally create in them a reverence of you; and I cannot but apprehend how the constant mien, aspect, and deportment of such a parent will insensibly influence the temper of dutiful children; and (if that be sad

and despondent) depress their spirits, blunt and take off the edge and quickness upon which their future usefulness and comfort will much depend. Were it possible their now glorious father should visit and inspect you, would you not be troubled to behold a frown in that bright serene face? You are to please a more penetrating eye, which you will best do by putting on a temper and deportment suitable to your weighty charge and duty; and to the great purposes for which God continues you in the world, by giving over unnecessary solitude and retirement, which, though it pleases, doth really prejudice you, and is more than you can bear. Nor can any rules of decency require more. Nothing that is necessary and truly Christian ought to be reckoned unbecoming. David's example, 2 Sam. xii. 20, is of too great authority to be counted a pattern of indecency. The God of heaven lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and thereby put gladness into your heart; and give you to apprehend him saying to you, 'Arise, and walk in the light of the Lord.'

"That I have used so much freedom in this paper, I make no apology for; but do therefore hide myself in the dark, not judging it consistent with that plainness which I thought the case might require, to give any other account of myself, than that I am one deeply sensible of your and your noble relatives' great affliction, and who

scarce ever bow the knee before the mercy-seat without remembering it: and who shall ever be,
“Madam, your Ladyship’s most sincere honourer,
“and most humble devoted servant.”

Though Mr. Howe did not put his name to this his consolatory epistle, yet the style, and several particularities in it, soon discovered who was the author. The lady sent him a letter of thanks, and told him that he must not expect to remain concealed. She promised to endeavour to follow the advice he had given her, and often wrote to him afterwards, some of which letters I have seen and read; and they show that his freedom was taken kindly, and his pains well bestowed.

It is observed by Bishop Burnet,* concerning this excellent person, the Lord Russell, who died a martyr for the liberties of his country, that he “was a man of great candour, and of a general reputation, universally beloved and trusted, of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness,” that the Bishop says, he “never knew any man have so entire a credit in the nation as he had.” He adds, that “he had from his first education an inclination to favour the Nonconformists, and wished the laws could have been made easier to them.” On the other

* History of his Own Times.

hand, the high party represented him as "one that had no very favourable opinion of the English Clergy in general, as thinking them, for the most part, a set of men too much bigoted to slavish principles, and not zealous enough for the Protestant religion, or the common interest of a free nation."* It is hoped, that the remaining branches of that noble family will adhere to his principles, and imitate his glorious example.

I go on to the year 1684, in which Mr. Howe published a treatise on Luke xix. 41, 42, entitled, "The Redeemer's Tears wept over lost Souls;" with an appendix, where somewhat is occasionally discoursed, concerning the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and how God is said to will the salvation of them that perish.

Bishop Burnet owns, "that the prosecution of the Dissenters was carried very high all this year. They were not only proceeded against for going to conventicles," as he is pleased to call their private meetings for the worship of God, "but for not going to church, and for not receiving the sacrament; the laws made against Papists, with relation to those particulars, being now applied to them: many were excommunicated and ruined by these prosecutions."†

Among other warm things which at that time came from the press, there was a letter published

* Life of Mr. Kettlewell. † History of his Own Times.

by Bishop Barlow, of Lincoln, for the putting in execution the laws against the Dissenters: and this was written in concurrence with that which was drawn up by the Justices of the Peace of the county of Bedford, bearing date, Jan. 14th, 1684. In answer to this warm and angry printed letter of the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Howe sent his Lordship a free letter by the post, a copy whereof has been preserved, and here follows:—

“RIGHT REVEREND,

“AS I must confess myself surprised by your late published directions to your Clergy of the county of Bedford, so nor will I dissemble, that I did read them with some trouble of mind, which I sincerely profess was more upon your Lordship's account than my own, (who for myself am little concerned,) or any other particular person's whatsoever. It was such as it had not been very difficult for me to have concealed in my own breast, or only to have expressed it to God in my prayers for you, (which through his grace I have not altogether omitted to do,) if I had not apprehended it not utterly impossible, (as I trust I might, without arrogating unduly to myself,) that some or other of those thoughts which I have revolved in my own mind upon this occasion, being only hinted to your Lordship, might appear to your very sagacious judgment (for which I have had long, and have still, a continuing vene-

ration) some way capable of being cultivated by your own mature and second thoughts, so as not to be wholly unuseful to your Lordship.

“ My own judgment, such as it is, inclines me not to oppose any thing, either, 1. To the lawfulness of the things themselves which you so much desire should obtain in the practice of the people under your Lordship’s pastoral inspection : or, 2. To the desirable comeliness of an uniformity in the public and solemn worship of God : or, 3. To the fitness of making laws for the effecting of such uniformity : or, 4. To the execution of such laws, upon some such persons as may possibly be found among so numerous a people as are under your Lordship’s care.

“ But the things which I humbly conceive are to be deliberated on are, 1. Whether all the laws that are in being about matters of that nature, ought now to be executed upon all the persons which any way transgress them, without distinction of either. 2. Whether it was so well, that your Lordship should advise and press that indistinct execution, which the order (to which the subjoined directions of your Lordship do succenturiate) seems to intend ; supposing that designed execution were fit in itself.

“ I shall not need to speak severally to these heads : your Lordship will sufficiently distinguish what is applicable the one way or the other. But I humbly offer to your Lordship’s further

consideration, whether it be not a supposable thing, that some persons sound in the faith, strictly orthodox in all the articles of it taught by our Lord Jesus or his Apostles, resolvedly loyal, and subject to the authority of their governors in Church and State, of pious, sober, peaceable, just, charitable dispositions and deportments; may yet (while they agree with your Lordship in that evident principle, both by the law of nature and Scripture, that their Prince and inferior rulers ought to be actively obeyed in all lawful things) have a formed, fixed judgment (for what were to be done in the case of a mere doubt, that hath not arrived to a settled preponderation this way or that, is not hard to determine) of the unlawfulness of some or other of the rites and modes of worship enjoined to be observed in this Church. For my own part, though perhaps I should not be found to differ much from your Lordship in most of the things here referred unto, I do yet think that few metaphysical questions are disputed with nicer subtlety, than the matter of the ceremonies has been by Archbishop Whitgift, Cartwright, Hooker, Parker, Dr. Burgess, Dr. Ames, Gillespy, Jeanes, Calderwood, Dr. Owen, Baxter, &c. Now is it impossible that a sincere and sober Christian may, with an honest heart, have so weak intellectuals, as not to be able to understand all the punctilios upon which a right judgment of such a

matter may depend? And is it not possible there may be such a thing as a mental as well as a merely sensitive antipathy, not vincible by ordinary methods? Is there no difference to be put between things essential to our religion, and things confessed indifferent on the one hand, and on the other judged unlawful; on both hands but accidental? though they that think them unlawful, dare not allow themselves the liberty of sinning, even in accidentals. If your Lordship were the *paterfamilias* to a numerous family of children and servants, among whom one or other very dutiful child takes offence, not at the sort of food you have thought fit should be provided, but somewhat in the sauce or way of dressing, which thereupon he forbears; you try all the means which your paternal wisdom and severity thinks fit, to overcome that aversion, but in vain; would you finally famish this child rather than yield to his inclination in so small a thing?

“My Lord, your Lordship well knows the severity of some of those laws which you press for the execution of is such, as being executed, they must infer the utter ruin of them who observe them not, in their temporal concerns; and not that only, but their deprivation of the comfortable advantages appointed by our blessed Lord for promoting their spiritual and eternal well-being. I cannot but be well persuaded not only of the mere sincerity, but emi-

nent sanctity of divers, upon my own knowledge and experience of them, who would sooner die at a stake than I or any man can prevail with them (notwithstanding our Rubric, or whatever can be said to facilitate the matter) to kneel before the consecrated elements at the Lord's table. Would your Lordship necessitate such, *perdere substantiam propter accidentia*? What, if there be considerable numbers of such in your Lordship's vastly numerous flock; will it be comfortable to you, when an account is demanded of your Lordship by the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls concerning them, only to be able to say?—'Though, Lord, I did believe the provisions of thine house, purchased for them, necessary and highly useful for their salvation, I drove them away as dogs and swine from thy table, and stirred up such other agents as I could influence against them, by whose means I reduced many of them to beggary, ruined many families, banished them into strange countries, where they might, for me, serve other gods; and this not for disobeying any immediate ordinance or law of thine, but because, for fear of offending thee, they did not in every thing comport with my own appointments, or which I was directed to urge and impose upon them.' How well would this practice agree with that apostolical precept?—'Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations.' I know not how your Lordship would relieve

yourself in this case, but by saying they were not weak, nor conscientious, but wilful and humour-some. But what shall then be said to the sub-joined expostulation?—‘Who art thou that judgest thy brother? We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ.’ What, if they have appeared conscientious, and of a very unblamable conversation in all things else? What, if better qualified for Christian communion in all other respects, than thousands you admitted? If you say you know of none such under your charge so severely dealt with, it will be said, Why did you use such severity toward them you did not know? or urge and animate them to use it whom you knew never likely to distinguish? A very noted Divine of the Church of England said to me in discourse, not very long ago, upon mention of the ceremonies, ‘Come, come, the Christian church and religion is in a consumption; and it ought to be done as in the case of consumptive persons, shave off the hair to save the life.’ Another, a dignified person, present replied, ‘I doubt not it will be so, in the Philadelphian state.’ I long thought few had been in the temper of their minds nearer it than your Lordship, and am grieved, not that I so judged, but that I am mistaken; and to see your Lordship the first public example to the rest of your order in such a course. Blessed Lord! How strange is it that so long experience will not let us see that little and so very disputable

matters can never be the terms of union so much to be desired in the Christian church ; and that, in such a case as ours is, nothing will satisfy but the destruction of them whose union upon so nice terms we cannot obtain ; and then to call *solitudinem, pacem !* But we must, it seems, understand all this rigour your Lordship shows to proceed from love ; and that you are for destroying the Dissenters, only to mend their understandings, and because *afflictio dat intellectum*. I hope indeed God will sanctify the affliction which you give and procure them, to blessed purposes ; and perhaps *periissent nisi periissent* : but for the purposes your Lordship seems to aim at, I wonder what you can expect. Can you, by undoing men, change the judgment of their consciences ? Or if they should tell you, ‘ We do indeed in our consciences judge we shall greatly offend God, by complying with your injunctions, but yet, to save being undone, we will do it ; ’ will this qualify them for your communion ? If your Lordship think still, you have judged and advised well in this matter, you have the judgment of our Sovereign, upon twelve years’ experience, lying against you : you have, as to one of the laws you would have executed, the judgment of both Houses of Parliament against you, who passed a Bill, to which perhaps you consented, for taking it away. You have, as to all of them, the judgment of the last House of Commons, sit-

ting at Westminster, so far as to the season then, of executing those laws. It may be your Lordship thinks it now a fitter season; but if you have misjudged, or misdone against your judgment, I pray God to rectify your error by gentler methods, and by less affliction, than you have designed to your brethren: and do not, for all this, doubt, any more for your part than my own, to meet you there one day where Luther and Zuinglius are well agreed. If I did think that would contribute any thing to the honest and truly charitable design of this letter, I should freely and at large tell you my name: and do, however, tell you, I am

“A sincere honourer of your Lordship, and
your very faithful, humble servant.”

What effects this letter might have I know not; but I must confess I think it to have been very strong and moving, and likely to make impression.

CHAPTER VI.

IN 1685 the Dissenters were run down universally, and hardly any one durst speak or write in their favour; and the prospects people had with respect to the public grew every day more

and more gloomy. Mr. Howe therefore, having an invitation given him by the Lord Wharton to travel with him abroad into foreign parts, accepted it readily. He had so little time given him to prepare for his voyage, which he entered upon in the month of August this year, that he had not an opportunity of taking leave of his friends, but sent a letter to them from the other side the water, which was thus directed :—

“TO SUCH IN AND ABOUT LONDON, AMONG WHOM I HAVE LABOURED IN THE WORK OF THE GOSPEL.”

It here follows :—

“MY most dearly beloved in our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, grace, mercy, and peace be through him multiplied unto you.

“That I am at this time at this distance from you is, I am persuaded, (upon the experience I have had of your great love and value of my poor labours,) not pleasant to you ; and I do assure you it is grievous to me, though I murmur not at the wise and holy Providence that hath ordered things thus, in reference to you and me : but it added to my trouble, that I could not so much as bid farewell to persons to whom I had so great endearments, the solemnity whereof you know our circumstances would not admit. Nor could I have opportunity to communicate to you the grounds of my taking this long journey,

being under promise while the matter was under consideration not to speak of it to any one that was not concerned immediately about it : neither could I think that imprudent in itself, where acquaintance was so numerous ; silence towards dearest friends in such cases usually being designed for an apology to all others. And after the resolution was taken, my motion depending on another, I had not time for that, or any such purposes. And should I yet communicate them, as they lie particularly in my own thoughts, it would lose time that I may more profitably employ, for both you and myself, while I do it not. You will, I may be confident, be more prudent and equal than to judge of what you do not know ; but so much I shall in the general say, that the providence of God gave me the prospect of a present quiet abode, with some opportunity of being serviceable, (and I hope as it may prove through His help and blessing, unto you, if I have life and health to finish what I have been much pressed by some of yourselves to go on with,) which opportunity I could not hope to have nearer you, at least without being unreasonably burdensome to some, while I was designing service as much as in me lay to all. It much satisfies me that I have a record above I am not designing for myself ; that He who knoweth all things, knows I love not this present world, and I covet not an abode in it, (nor have

I when it was most friendly to me,) upon any other account, than upon doing some service to Him, and the souls of men. It therefore has been my settled habitual sense and sentiment a long time to value and desire, with submission to sovereign good pleasure, peace and quiet, with some tolerable health, more than life. Nor have I found any thing more destructive to my health, than confinement to a room a few days in the city air, which was much better and more healthful to me formerly, than since the anger and jealousies of such as I never had a disposition to offend have of later times occasioned persons of my circumstances very seldom to walk the streets.

“But my hope is, God will in his good time incline the hearts of rulers more to favour such as cannot be satisfied with the public constitutions in the matters of God’s worship, and that are innocent and peaceable in the land ; and that my absence from you will be for no long time, it being my design, with dependence upon His gracious providence and pleasure, in whose hands our times are, if I hear of any door open for service with you, to spend the health and strength which God shall vouchsafe me, and which I find through his mercy much improved since I left you, in his work with and among you. In the mean time, I believe it will not be unacceptable to you that I offer you some of my

thoughts and counsels, for your present help, such as are not new to me, nor, as you will find, to yourselves, who are my witnesses that I have often inculcated such things to you; but they may be useful to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance.

“I. I beseech you more earnestly endeavour to reduce the things you know, and have been by many hands instructed in, out of the Gospel of our Lord, to practice. Nothing can be more absurd than to content ourselves with only a notional knowledge of practical matters. We should think so in other cases. As if any man should satisfy himself to know the use of food, but famish himself by never eating any, when he hath it at hand; or that he understands the virtues of this or that cordial, but languishes away to death in the neglect of using it, when it might cheer his spirits and save his life. And the neglect of applying the great things of the Gospel to the proper uses and purposes of the Christian life, is not more foolish, (only as the concernments they serve for are more important,) but much more sinful and provoking to God. For we are to consider whence the revelation comes. They are things which the mouth of the Lord hath spoken; uttered by the breath of the eternal God, as all Scriptures are said to be. God breathed, as that expression may be literally rendered, 2 Tim. iii. 16. And how high a con-

tempt and provocation is it of the great God, so totally to pervert and disappoint the whole design of that revelation he hath made to us, to know the great things contained therein, only for knowing sake, which he hath made known that we might live by them! And O what holy and pleasant lives should we lead in this world, if the temper and complexion of our souls did answer and correspond to the things we know! The design of preaching has been greatly mistaken, when it has been thought, it must still acquaint them who live, and especially who have long lived under it, with some new thing. Its much greater and more important design is the impressing of known things but too little considered upon the hearts of hearers, that they may be delivered up into the mould and form of the doctrine taught them, as Rom. vi. 12; and may so learn Christ as more and more to be renewed in the spirit of their minds, and put off the old man; and put on the new. (Eph. iv. 20.) The digesting our food is what God now eminently calls for.

“II. More particularly labour to have your apprehensions of the future state of the unseen world, and eternal things, made more lively and efficacious daily, and that your faith of them may be such as may truly admit to be called the very substance and evidence of those things. Shall that glorious everlasting state of things

be always as a dark shadow with us, or as the images we have of things in a dream, ineffectual and vanishing, only because we have not seen with our eyes, where God himself hath by his express word made the representations of them to us, who never deceived us, as our own eyes and treacherous senses have done? Why do we not live as just now entering into the eternal state, and as if we now beheld the glorious appearing of the great God our Saviour, when we are as much assured of them as if we beheld them? Why do we not oftener view the representation of the heavens vanishing, the elements melting, the earth flaming, the angels every where dispersed to gather the elect, and them ascending, caught up to meet the Redeemer in the air, ever to be with the Lord? What a trifle will the world be to us then!

“III. Let the doctrine of the Redeemer be more studied, and of his mighty undertaking, with the immediate design of it, not merely to satisfy for sin by the sacrifice he once for all made of himself, and so to procure our pardon and justification, without effecting any thing upon us, but to redeem us from all iniquity, to purify us to himself, &c., and to form us after His own holy likeness, and for such purposes to give his Holy Spirit to us. Consider that our Redeemer is mighty, who hath such kind designs upon us; and that as they shall not therefore

finally fail of accomplishment, so will they be carried on without interruption, and with discernible success, if we fail not as to what part in subordination to him belongs to us. How cheerfully should the redeemed of the Lord go on in their course, under such conduct !

“IV. Endeavour your faith may be stronger, more efficacious and practical, concerning the doctrine of Providence, and that the workings and events of it lie all under the management, and in the hand of the Redeemer, who is Head over all things to the church ; that therefore, how grievous and bitter soever be his people’s lot and portion at any time, there cannot but be kindness at the bottom ; and that not only designing the best end, but taking the fittest way to it. For can love itself be unkind, so as not to design well ? or wisdom itself err, so as to take an improper course in order thereto ? Hereupon let not your spirits be embittered by the present dispensation of Providence you are under, whereby you are in so great a part deprived of the helps and means of your spiritual advantage, which you like and relish most. And to this purpose consider,

“1. Our wise and merciful Lord (though perhaps such means might be in some measure useful to us) doth for the present judge, that his rebuking our undue use of them will be more useful ; either overvaluing or undervaluing his

instruments, turning his ordinances into mere formalities, preferring the means of grace, as they are fitly called, before the end,—grace itself.

“2. Consider whether there be no disposition of spirit to treat others as you are treated. The inward temper of our minds and spirits is so much the more narrowly to be inspected, by how much the less there is opportunity to discover it by outward acts. As to such as differ from us about the forms and ceremonies that are now required in the worship of God, would we not be glad if they were as much restrained from using them in their worship, as we from worshipping without them? And do not we think that that would as much grieve them, as our restraint doth us? And why should we suppose that their way should not as much suit their spirits, and be as grateful to them, as ours to us? ‘But we are in the right way,’ some will say, ‘and they in the wrong:’ and why cannot any man say the same thing with as much confidence as we? Or do we think there is no difference to be put between controversies about matter of circumstance, and about the essentials of Christianity? Undoubtedly till those that affect the name of Reformed, and count it more their glory to be called Protestants than to be good Christians, have learned to mingle more justice with their religion, and how better to apply that great advice of our Lord’s, ‘Whatsoever you would that men

should do to you, do that to them,' &c., and till they become studious of excelling other men in substantial goodness, abstractedness from the world, meekness, humility, sobriety, self-denial, and charity, and to lay a greater stress hereon, than on being of one or other denomination, God's controversy will not cease.

"I reckon it much to be considered, and I pray you consider it deeply, that after that great precept, 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God,' (Eph. iv. 30,) it immediately follows, verse 31, 'Let all bitterness, and anger, and wrath, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice:' plainly implying that the Spirit of God, that Spirit of all love, goodness, sweetness, and benignity, is grieved by nothing more than by our bitterness, wrathfulness, &c. And it appears that the discernible restraint and departure of that blessed Spirit from the church of Christ in so great a measure, for many foregoing generations, in comparison of the plentiful effusion of it in the first age, hath ensued upon the growth of that wrathful and contentious spirit which showed itself early in the Gnostic, but much more in the after Arian persecution, which was not in some places less bloody than the pagan persecution had been before. O the gentleness, kindness, tenderness, and compassionateness of the evangelical truly Christian spirit, as it most eminently appeared in our Lord Jesus

Christ himself! And we are told, 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' (Romans viii. 9.) And how easy and pleasant is it to one's own self, to be void of all wrathfulness, and vindictive designs or inclinations towards any other man! For my own part, I should not have that peace and consolation in a suffering condition, (as my being so many years under restraint from that pleasant work of pleading with sinners that they might be saved, is the greatest suffering I was liable to in this world,) as through the goodness of God I have found, and do find in being conscious to myself of no other than kind and benign thoughts towards them I have suffered by, and that my heart tells me I desire not the least hurt to them that would do me the greatest; and that I feel within myself an unfeigned love and high estimation of divers, accounting them pious worthy persons, and hoping to meet them in the all-reconciling world, that are yet, through some mistake, too harsh towards us who dissent from them: and in things of this nature I pray that you and I may abound more and more.

"But again, as I would not have your spirits embittered, so I would not have your spirits discouraged, or sunk in dejection. 'The Lord will not cast off his people, because it hath pleased him to make them his people.' (1 Sam. xii. 22.) I do not mean those of this or that party, but

who fear God and work righteousness, be they of what party soever. As I often think of that saying of an ancient, (Clemens Alexandrinus,) that he counted not that philosophy, which was peculiar to this or that sect, but whatsoever of truth was to be found in any of them ; so I say of Christianity, it is not that which is appropriate to this or that party, but whatsoever of sincere religion shall be found common to them all. Such will value and love His favour and presence, and shall have it ; and He will yet have such a people in the world, and I doubt not more numerous than ever. And as the bitterness of Christians one towards another chased away his Spirit, his Spirit shall vanquish and drive away all that bitterness and consume our other dross. And as the apostasy long ago foretold, and of so long continuance in the Christian church, hath been begun and continued by constant war against the Spirit of Christ, the restitution and recovery of the church, and the reduction of Christianity to its ancient self, and primitive state, will be by the victory of the Spirit of Christ over that so contrary spirit. Then shall all the enmity, pride, wrathfulness, and cruelty, which have rent the church of Christ and made it so little itself, be melted down ; and with all their great impurities, besides earthliness, carnality, love of this present world, and prevalence of sensual lusts, be purged more generally away, and his repairing work be

done in a way grievous to no one, whereby those that are most absolutely conquered will be most highly pleased; 'not by might or by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord.'

"In the mean time let us draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to us. Let us more study the exercising ourselves to godliness, and take heed of turning the religion of our closets into spiritless uncomfortable formalities. 'Their hearts shall live that seek God.'

"To that blessed, and faithful, and covenant-keeping God I commit you; and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up farther, and give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified.

"And as I hope I shall without ceasing remember you in mine, so I hope you will remember too in your prayers,

"Your sincerely affectionate though too unprofitable servant in Christ,

"JOHN HOWE."

In the course of his travels with this noble Lord, Mr. Howe had the satisfaction of seeing divers noted places, and conversing freely, not only with a number of learned Papists, but several Protestant Divines, both Lutherans and Calvinists, and making a variety of remarks for his own use: and in the mean time, he was often not a little affected with the melancholy tidings

of the swift advances they were making in England towards Popery and slavery, which he most heartily lamented, as well as the hardships and severities which his Nonconforming brethren met with in particular. And not having any encouragement from the posture of affairs to return home, he at length, in the year 1686, settled in the pleasant city of Utrecht, which is the capital of one of the seven United Provinces. He took a house, and resided there for some time, and had the Earl of Sutherland and his Countess, and some English gentlemen, together with his two nephews Mr. George and Mr. John Hughes, boarding with him. He took his turn of preaching at the English church in that city, with Mr. Matthew Mead, Mr. Woodcock, and Mr. Cross, who were there at the same time. They kept frequent days of solemn prayer together, on the account of the threatening state of affairs in their own country; and Mr. Howe generally preached on the Lord's days in the evening in his own family. And there being several English students then at that University, in order to their being fitted for future usefulness, Mr. Howe was pleased to favour some of them with hearing their orations and disputations in private, and giving them his particular instructions and advice as they were prosecuting their studies, which some have owned to have been of no small advantage to them. There were also seve-

ral other worthy persons of the English nation at that time there, and in other parts of the United Provinces, that they might shelter themselves from prosecutions in their own country; such as Sir John Thompson, (afterwards Lord Haversham,) Sir John Guise, Sir Patience Ward, and Mr. Papillon; and there was a good harmony and correspondence among them; and Mr. Howe received much respect from them, as well as from the Professors in that academy.

Among others by whom he was visited while he continued at Utrecht, was Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterward Bishop of Sarum, who also preached in the English church there, and very frankly declared for occasional communion with those of different sentiments. He and Mr. Howe had a great deal of free conversation, upon a variety of subjects; and once discoursing of Nonconformity, the Doctor told him, he was apprehensive that it could not subsist long; but that when Mr. Baxter, and Doctor Bates, and he, and a few more were once laid in their graves, it would sink and die, and come to nothing. Mr. Howe replied, that that must be left to God; though he at the same time intimated that he had different apprehensions; and did not reckon it to depend upon persons, but upon principle, which when taken up upon grounds approved upon search, could not be laid aside by men of conscience. The best way, he said, to put an

end to Nonconformity, would be by giving due liberty under the national settlement, and laying aside needless clogs, that would give occasion to endless debates. Were this once done, there would be no room for a conscientious Nonconformity ; but that without it, they could expect no other than that as some passed off the stage, others would rise up and fill their places, who would act upon the same principles as they had done before them ; though he hoped, with a due moderation and temper towards those of different sentiments. And the event has showed, that he was herein in the right.

Several years after this, I myself having occasion to wait upon Dr. Burnet, after he had been some time Bishop of Sarum, at his palace in that city, where I was treated with great frankness and civility, his Lordship signified how well he was pleased with the temper discovered by the rising generation of Ministers among the Dissenters ; though at the same time he intimated, that it was the common apprehension of the great men of their Church, that Nonconformity would have been a thing of one age only, and not have been continued to another generation, but have drawn to an end when they that were ejected out of the public churches were once laid in their graves. Upon this occasion, I declared to his Lordship, that which, having so fair an opportunity, I shall not now be shy of signifying

more publicly; namely, that after the closest search into this matter of which I have been capable, I cannot perceive that while and as long as the spirit of imposition continues, any other can reasonably be expected than that there will be some who will think themselves obliged to stand up for a generous liberty, the doing of which may be very consistent with all that charity and brotherly love that is required either by reason or Scripture. And this liberty has, since the death of the greatest part of the ejected Ministers, (though with the full approbation of such of them as were then living, and of Mr. Howe in particular,) been defended by some among the Dissenters, upon a bottom so truly large and noble, that the sagacious Mr. Locke himself, whom I believe most people will own to have been a pretty good judge, has more than once, as I have been credibly informed, freely owned, that, as long as they kept to that bottom, they need not question being able to stand their ground. And the number of their friends and abettors so increased, partly on the account of the largeness of the foundations they went upon, and partly also upon their steady zeal for the Government after the Revolution, while the established Church was miserably divided, about the oaths, and a great many other things that were very distasteful to men of sense and thought; that in all probability their interest must before this time have had a

considerable accession of strength, had it not been for their unaccountable heats in the reign of King William, and also in the reign of His present Majesty King George ; by which they have been sadly exposed and weakened. But of all persons, those that are zealous for the established Church have little reason upon this account to insult them, because of the shameful differences they have had amongst themselves, which in a great measure continue to this day.

While Mr. Howe continued in Holland, the late King William, of glorious and immortal memory, who was at that time Prince of Orange, did him the honour to admit him several times into his presence, and discoursed with him with great freedom : and he ever after retained a particular respect for him. I well remember also, that he himself once informed me of some very private conversation he had with that Prince, upon his sending for him, not long before his death. Among other things the King then asked him a great many questions about his old master Oliver, as he called him, and seemed not a little pleased with the answers that were returned to some of his questions.

CHAPTER VII.

IN 1687 King James published his "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience," upon which the Dissenters were freed from their fetters and shackles, and were allowed the freedom of worshipping God in public, in their own way, without any molestation. Mr. Howe's flock in London earnestly pressed for his return to them according to his promise, and he readily complied. But before he left Holland, he thought it proper to wait on the Prince of Orange, who, in his usual way, received him very graciously. He signified to His Royal Highness, that he was returning to England, at the earnest solicitation of his friends there, who were impatient of his absence, now that he was in a capacity of public service among them. The Prince wished him a good voyage, and advised him, though he and his brethren made use of the liberty granted by King James, yet to be very cautious in addressing; and not to be prevailed with, upon any terms, to fall in with the measures of the Court, as to taking off the penal laws and test, which was the thing intended, but which would have fatal consequences; and to use his utmost influence in order to the restraining others, which he readily promised; and he was as good as his word.

Upon his return into his own country, which was in May this year, he was gladly received by his old friends and brethren, and with joy (though not without an aching heart, considering the apparent danger of the public) returned to the free exercise of his ministry. He was thankful for a little breathing time afforded, and endeavoured to improve it to the best purposes, and to preserve himself and others from the snares that were laid for them.

The author of the *Life of a celebrated Non-juror* casts some most invidious reflections upon the body of the Dissenters, and their conduct in this reign. He insinuates, that "when that inconsistent people had long cried out against the members of the Church of England as inclinable to Popery, they themselves were the first to join hands with this Popery, against the Church of England, and to favour the designs thereof, which they had but just before so loudly exclaimed against."* And it must be owned, that they would have been an "inconsistent people" indeed, had the body of them acted in that manner: but the best of it is, that this is a suggestion that is as void of truth as it is of charity. If some among the Dissenters did charge those of the Church of England with favouring Popery in King Charles's reign, it was because of their appearing so zealous for his brother, who was

* *Life of Mr. Kettlewell.*

well known to be a Papist, and from whom no other could be expected than that he would, if he came to the crown, do his utmost to bring in Popery, in opposition to all the laws and securities against it; and they evidently hazarded the loss of our liberty and religion too, by making the dangerous experiment; and they would boldly venture upon this, though they were freely warned beforehand, what the consequence would be. But as for "joining hands with this Popery," none were more free from that than the Dissenters. Bishop Burnet owns, that how much soever a few weak persons might be intoxicated by the caresses of the Court, and elevated by an appearance of favour shown them, yet the "wiser men among them saw through all this, and perceived the design of the Papists was now to set on the Dissenters against the Church, as much as they had formerly set the Church against them: and therefore, though they returned to their conventicles," (as he is pleased to call them, though not a jot the better thought of upon that account by his warmer brethren,) "yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid under all this sudden and unexpected show of grace and kindness."*

In confirmation of this, I can upon good grounds assure the reader, that whereas there were about this time great endeavours used to

*Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times.

draw in the Dissenting Ministers to approve the measures of the Court, and frequent meetings among them to consider of their own behaviour, at which times Mr. Howe was seldom absent, he always declared against approving the dispensing power, or any thing that could give the Papists any assistance in the carrying on their designs; and he therein had the full concurrence of the generality of his brethren. I have had a particular account of one meeting at Mr. Howe's own house, in order to consider of the advisableness of drawing up a writing to signify their concurrence with the King, as to the ends of his Declaration; at which time there were two persons present that came from Court, and intimated that His Majesty waited in his closet, and would not stir from thence till an account was brought him of their proceedings. I have heard that one in the company did intimate that he thought it but reasonable they should comply with His Majesty's desire. To which another immediately replied, that he was fully convinced that the sufferings they had met with had been all along on the account of their firm adherence to the civil interest of the nation, in opposition to arbitrary power, rather than on the account of their religious principles: and therefore if the King expected they should join in approving such a conduct as would give the Papists their liberty, and establish a dispensing power, he had rather

he should take their liberty again. Mr. Howe in summing up the matter signified they were generally of that brother's sentiments, and could by no means encourage the dispensing power; and it was left to those who came down to them from Court, to report that as their common sense to those that sent them. Several of their Ministers were, it must be confessed, afterwards privately closeted by King James; and I will not say but some few of them, who had personal and particular favours shown them, might be drawn too far into the snare, and use their interest in order to the taking off all penal laws and tests: but they were but very few; and as soon as it was known, their interest and significance was lessened: the far greater number stood it out; and Mr. Howe particularly, when the King discoursed with him alone, told His Majesty that he was a Minister of the Gospel, and it was his province to preach, and endeavour to do good to the souls of men; but that as for meddling with state-affairs, he was as little inclined as he was called to it, and begged to be excused.

The same author also observes, that "upon King James's famous Declaration to all his loving subjects for liberty, there followed a vast crowd of congratulatory addresses and acknowledgments, from all sorts of Dissenters, complimenting the King in the highest manner, and protesting what mighty returns of loyalty they would

make His Majesty, for such his favour and indulgence to them.”* And he adds, “Only the members of the Church of England generally were hereat very uneasy.” But Bishop Burnet, who I am apt to think will be most likely to be regarded in the case, gives a quite different representation of the matter. He, speaking of the Dissenters, says, “It was visible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindness or good opinion that the King had of them. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general persecution: and therefore, as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary prerogative as was now made use of, so neither could they go into any engagements for Popery. They did believe that the indignation against the Church party, and the kindness to them, were things too unnatural to last long. So the more considerable among them resolved not to stand at too great a distance from the Court, nor to provoke the King so far as to give him cause to think they were irreconcilable to him, lest they should provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the Church party. On the other hand, they resolved not to provoke the Church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs,

* Life of Mr. John Kettlewell.

drive them into a reconciliation with the Court.”*

As to the addresses of the Dissenters upon this occasion, though some of them ran high, yet the Church party had set them the pattern, and therefore it was the less decent in them to make complaints of them. Those of the Establishment had, in the most luxuriant manner, thanked King Charles for dissolving one of the best of Parliaments, and, as the Earl of Warrington declared in his speech, were mighty “forward in the surrender of charters; and in their fulsome addresses and abhorrences, made no other claim to their liberties and civil rights than as concessions from the crown: telling the King, every one of his commands was stamped with God’s authority.” And the University of Oxford in particular had in one of their public addresses promised King James, that “they would obey him without limitations or restrictions:”† which was not to be equalled by any thing that came even from the most uncautious or the most transported Dissenters. And if they did not now preach so much against Popery as the Churchmen, they may the more easily be excused, because their people did not so much need it. They had little reason to fear that any of their persuasion would be perverted; for that the adhering to their distinguishing principle of the

* Bishop Burnet’s History of his Own Times.

† Idem.

sufficiency of Scripture, would not fail of securing them ; while many of the Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England had instilled into their followers such odd notions, about the power of the Church in matters of faith, the apostolical succession and power of Bishops, their right to judge of fitness and decency in the worship of God, to which all others must submit, and the binding force of all canons and councils, that it highly concerned them to do all that they were able, to deliver them from the consequences which they might easily foresee the Romanists would put them upon drawing from such principles. And the truth of it is, though I have not the least word to say, to the lessening that glorious defence of the Protestant cause that was at this time made by the writings of the Divines of the Church party, yet the Dissenters may be very well allowed to have taken no small pleasure in seeing those gentlemen baffle the Papists, upon such principles as they might easily discern would help to set the authors themselves more upright than some of them had been before : and in such a case to have offered to take the work out of their hands, had been over-officious, and an indecent intermeddling.

However, the King went on with his design, and nothing would satisfy him but his Declaration for liberty must be read in all the churches. The Bishops, meeting together for consultation,

were convinced that their concurring in this step, and sending the Declaration to all their Clergy, and requiring their reading it publicly to the people, would be an owning the dispensing power: and therefore they drew up a petition to His Majesty, in which they desired to be excused. This petition was called a libel, and they were sent to the Tower for presenting it.

Mr. Howe being at this time invited to dinner by Dr. Sherlock, the Master of the Temple, accepted the invitation, and was very civilly treated; and there were two or three other Clergymen at the table. After dinner, the discourse ran mostly upon the danger the Church was at that time in, of being entirely ruined. The Doctor freely, but pretty abruptly, asked Mr. Howe what he thought the Dissenters would do, supposing the preferments of the Church should be made vacant, and an offer should be made of filling them up out of their number. Mr. Howe was so surprised with such a question as this, which he little expected, that he was at first at a loss for an answer. Whereupon the Doctor drew out his dark and melancholy scheme very distinctly, with all imaginable marks of concern. He told him he thought that the Bishops would be as certainly cast, as they were at that time imprisoned in the Tower; that the rest of the Clergy, who had so generally refused reading the King's Declaration, would follow after them;

that it was not a thing to be supposed that their places should be suffered to continue vacant ; and that no way could be thought of for the filling them up again, but from among the Dissenters. "And who knows," says he, "but Mr. Howe may be offered to be Master of the Temple?" And therefore he intimated he was very desirous to know how they would be inclined to behave upon such a supposition ; of which he believed him to be as capable of giving an account as any man whatsoever. Mr. Howe told the Doctor, that these were things that were altogether uncertain ; but that if it should so happen that matters should fall out according to his fears, he could not pretend to answer for the conduct of the Dissenters, among whom there were several parties, that acted upon different principles ; and that therefore it was most reasonable to suppose, their conduct might be different. He signified to him, that he could answer for none but himself ; and that he thought for his part, if things should ever come to the pass he mentioned, he should not balk an opportunity of more public service, (which he was not aware he had done any thing to forfeit,) provided it was offered him upon such terms as he had no just reason to except against : but then he added, that as for the emolument thence accruing, he should not be for meddling with that, any otherwise than as a hand to convey it to the legal proprietor. Where-

upon the Doctor rose up from his seat and embraced him, and said that he had always taken him for that ingenuous honest man that he now found him to be, and seemed not a little transported with joy. Mr. Howe afterwards telling this passage to a certain great man in the Church, to whom the Doctor was well known, and signifying how much he was on a sudden to seek for an answer to a question he so little expected, which was bottomed upon a supposition that had not so much as once entered into his thoughts before, he immediately made him this reply: "Sir, you say you had not once thought of the case, or so much as supposed any thing like it; but you must give me leave to tell you, if you had studied the case seven years together, you could not have said any thing that had been more to the purpose, or more to the Doctor's satisfaction."

When these fears were all blown over, and a happy revolution brought about in 1688, and the Prince of Orange was come to St. James's palace, the Dissenting Ministers waited on him in a body, and were introduced by the Lords Devonshire, Wharton, and Wiltshire; at which time Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, made a handsome speech, signifying,—

"That they professed their grateful sense of His Highness's hazardous and heroical expedition, which the favour of heaven had made so surprisingly prosperous.

“That they esteemed it a common felicity that the worthy patriots of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom had unanimously concurred unto His Highness’s design, by whose most prudent advice the administration of public affairs was devolved, in this difficult conjuncture, into hands which the nation and the world knew to be apt for the greatest undertakings, and so suitable to the present exigence of our case.

“That they promised the utmost endeavours, which in their stations they were capable of affording, for promoting the excellent and most desirable ends for which His Highness had declared.

“That they added their continual and fervent prayers to the Almighty for the preservation of His Highness’s person, and the success of his future endeavours for the defence and propagation of the Protestant interest throughout the Christian world.

“That they should all most willingly have chosen that for the season of paying this duty to His Highness, when the Lord Bishop and the Clergy of London attended His Highness for the same purpose, (which some of them did, and which his Lordship was pleased condescendingly to make mention of to His Highness,) had their notice of that intended application been so early, as to make their more general attendance possible to them at that time.

“And that therefore, though they did now appear in a distinct company, they did it not on a distinct account, but on that only which was common to them and to all Protestants.

“That there were some of eminent note, whom age or present infirmities* hindered from coming with them; yet they concurred in the same grateful sense of our common deliverance.”

The Prince, in answer, assured them, “that he came on purpose to defend the Protestant religion; and that it was his own religion, in which he was born and bred, the religion of his country and of his ancestors; and that he was resolved, by the grace of God, always to adhere to it, and to do his utmost endeavours for the defence of it, and the promoting a firm union among Protestants.”

In this year, 1688, Mr. Howe published a few practical discourses: as, a sermon on Job v. 42, directing what we are to do after strict inquiry, whether or no we truly love God: and two sermons preached at Thurlow in Suffolk, on those words, “Yield yourselves to God.” (Rom. vi. 13.)

In 1689 he wrote a short letter about the case of the French Protestants, which I shall here add, leaving it to the reader to guess, and I cannot myself do more, to whom it was addressed. It was in these words:—

* This referred to Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates.

“SIR,

“BUT that I am learning as much as I can to count nothing strange among the occurrences of the present time, I should be greatly surprised to find, that divers French Protestant Ministers, fled hither for their consciences and religion, who have latitude enough to conform to the rites of the Church of England, do accuse others of their brethren, who are fled hither on the same account, but have that latitude, as schismatics, only for practising according to the principles and usages of their own Church, which at home were common to them both; and, as schismatics, judge them unworthy of any relief here. Their common enemy never yet passed so severe a judgment on any of them, that they should be famished. This is put into the hands of the appellants from this sentence, unto your more equal judgment. And it needs do no more than thus briefly to represent their case, and me, most honoured Sir,

“Your most obliged

and most humble servant,

“JOHN HOWE.

“WALLBROOK,

“April 5th, 1689.”

CHAPTER VIII.

ABOUT this time, some had great expectations from the meetings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who were to prepare matters for the Convocation. Mr. Howe was well acquainted, and had free and frequent conversation, with several of them ; but found such a spirit had got the ascendant among the dignified Clergy, of whom the Convocation is made up, that there was no room for any thing like an accommodation of the matters in difference, which he often afterwards lamented, where he could use freedom.

At length on May 24th, this year, the Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, received the royal assent. The Dissenters were hereupon contented and thankful. The author of the Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Robert South owns, in so many words, that that Doctor by no means liked it. And it was the same as to a great many others of his temper and principles.

In order to the preventing slights of this kind, or any thing that might be extravagant in the opposite extreme, Mr. Howe, soon after the Toleration Act passed, published another sheet of paper, which he entitled, "Humble Requests both to Conformists and Dissenters, touching

their Temper and Behaviour toward each other, upon the lately passed Indulgence." And this also deserves to be preserved to posterity.

It is there moved,

"1. That we do not over-magnify our differences, or count them greater than they really are. I speak now," says Mr. Howe, "of the proper differences which the rule itself makes, to which the one sort conforms, and the other conforms not. Remember that there are differences on both parts, among themselves, incomparably greater than these, by which the one sort differs from the other. There are differences in doctrinal sentiments that are much greater. How unconceivably greater is the difference between good men and bad! between being a lover of the blessed God, the Lord of heaven and earth, and an enemy! a real subject of Christ and of the devil! Have we not reason to apprehend there are of both these, on each side? Let us take heed of having our minds tinctured with a wrong notion of this matter, as if this indulgence divided England into two Christendoms, or distinguished rather between Christians and Mahometans, as some men's cyclopic fancies have an unlucky art to represent things; creating ordinary men and things into monsters and prodigious shapes, at their own pleasure. It has been an usual saying on both sides, that they were, in comparison, but little things we differed about, or circumstan-

tial things. Let us not unsay it, or suffer a habit of mind to slide into us, that consists not with it. Though we must not go against a judgment of conscience in the least thing, yet let us not confound the true differences of things; but what are really lesser things, let them go for such.

“2. Let us hereupon carefully abstain from judging each other’s state Godward upon these differences: for hereby we shall both contradict our common rule, and ourselves. When men make conscience of small and doubtful things, on the one hand and the other, about which they differ, blessed God, how little conscience is made of the plainest and most important rule, not to judge one another for such differences! (Rom. xiv. 3, 13.) Why, of all the parts of that holy book, is this chapter only thought no part of God’s word? or this precept, so variously enforced in this chapter, and so awfully? (verses 10, 11:) ‘But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to me.’ Is it a light matter to usurp the throne of Christ, the judgment-seat of God? Yet how common has it been to say, ‘Such an one conforms; he has nothing of God in him!’ ‘Such an one conforms not; it is not conscience, but humour!’ God forgive both Had they blotted Romans

xiv. out of their Bibles? It is plain by the whole series of discourse, that it is the judging of men's states, and that by such small matters of difference, that is the thing here forbidden. Some few things contained in this chapter, as, to receive one another as Christians, or such whom God receives notwithstanding remaining doubts about small matters, and not determining such doubted things in bar to the doubter; (verses 1-3;) and not to lay stumbling-blocks in each other's way; (verse 13;) not to do the doubted thing with a mind still unsatisfied; (verses 5, 23;) not to censure either him that doeth or forbears; not admitting an hard thought of him, or less favourable, than that what such an one 'doeth, he doeth to the Lord,' and what the other 'forbears, he forbears to the Lord:' (verse 6:) these few things, I say, put in practice, had taken away all differences that we are now considering, or the inconvenience of them, long ago. And we shall still need them as much as ever.

"3. Let us not value ourselves upon being of this or that side of the severing line. It is Jewish, yea, pharisaical, to be conceited, and boast ourselves upon externals, and small matters, especially if arbitrarily taken up; and is itself an argument of a light mind, and incomprehensive of true worth. Though I cannot sincerely be of this or that way, but I must think myself in the right, and others in the wrong that differ

from me, yet I ought to consider, this is but a small minute thing, a point, compared, with the vast orb of knowables, and of things needful, and that ought to be known. Perhaps divers that differ from me are men of greater and more comprehensive minds, and have been more employed about greater matters; and many, in things of more importance, have much more of valuable and useful knowledge than I. Yea, and since these are not matters of salvation we differ about, so that any on either side dare considerately say, ‘He cannot be saved that is not in these respects of my mind and way;’ he may have more of sanctifying savoury knowledge, more of solid goodness, more of grace and real sanctity, than I; the course of his thoughts and studies having been by converse and other accidents led more off from these things, and perhaps by a good principle been more deeply engaged about higher matters: for no man’s mind is able equally to consider all things fit to be considered; and greater things are of themselves more apt to beget holy and good impressions upon our spirits, than the minuter and more circumstantial things, though relating to religion, can be.

“4. Let us not despise one another for our differing in these lesser matters. This is too common and most natural to that temper that offends against the foregoing caution. Little-spirited creatures, valuing themselves for small

matters, must consequently have them in contempt that want what they count their own only excellency. He that hath nothing wherein he places worth belonging to him, besides a flaunting peruke, and a laced suit, must at all adventures think very meanly of one in a plain garb. Where we are taught not to judge, we are forbidden to despise, or set at nought, one another upon these little differences.

“5. Nor let us wonder that we differ. Unto this we are too apt, that is, to think it strange (especially upon some arguing of the difference) that such a man should conform, or such an one not conform. There is some fault in this, but which proceeds from more faulty causes. Pride too often, and an opinion that we understand so well, that a wrong is done us, if our judgment be not made a standard and measure to another man's. And again, ignorance of human nature, or inconsiderateness rather, how mysterious it is, and how little can be known of it; how secret and latent little springs there are, that move this engine to our own mind this way or that; and what bars (which perhaps he discerns not himself) may obstruct and shut up towards us another man's! Have we not frequent instances in other common cases, how difficult it is, to speak to another man's understanding! Speech is too penurious, not expressive enough. Frequently between men of sense, much more time

is taken up in explaining each other's notions, than in proving or disproving them. Nature and our present state have in some respects left us open to God only, and made us inaccessible to one another. Why then should it be strange to me, that I cannot convey my thought into another's mind? It is unchristian to censure, as before, and say, 'Such an one has not my conscience, therefore he has no conscience at all;' and it is also unreasonable and rude to say, 'Such a one sees not with my eyes, therefore he is stark blind.' Besides, the real obscurity of the matter is not enough considered. I am very confident an impartial and competent judge, upon the view of books, later and more ancient, upon such subjects, would say, there are few metaphysical questions disputed with more subtlety than the controversies about Conformity and Nonconformity. Blessed be God that things necessary to the salvation of souls, and that are of true necessity even to the peace and order of the Christian church, are in comparison so very plain.

"Moreover, there is besides understanding and judgment, and diverse from that heavenly gift which in the Scriptures is called grace, such a thing as gust and relish belonging to the mind of man, and I doubt not, to all men, if they observe themselves; and this is as unaccountable and as various as the relishes and disgusts of sense. This they only wonder at, that either

understand not themselves, or will consider nobody but themselves. To bring it down to the present case. As to those parts of worship which are of most frequent use in our assemblies, (whether Conforming or Nonconforming,) prayer, and preaching, and hearing God's word, our differences about them cannot but in part arise from the diversity of this principle, both on the one hand and the other. One sort do more favour prayer by a foreknown form; another that which hath more of surprise, by a grateful variety of unexpected expressions. And it can neither be universally said, it is a better judgment, or more grace, that determines men the one way or the other; but somewhat in the temper of their minds distinct from both, which I know not how better to express than by mental taste, the acts whereof, as the objects are suitable or unsuitable, are relishing or disrelishing, liking or disliking; and this hath no more of mystery in it, than that there is such a thing belonging to our natures as complacency or displacency in reference to the objects of the mind. And this in the kind of it is as common to men as human nature, but as much diversified in individuals as men's other inclinations are, that are most fixed, and least apt to admit of change. Now in the mentioned case, men cannot be universally determined either way, by their having better judgment; for no sober man can be so little modest

as not to acknowledge, that there are some of each sentiment, that are less judicious than some that are of the contrary sentiment in this thing. And to say that to be more determined this way or that, is the certain sign or effect] of a greater measure of grace and sanctity, were a great violation both of modesty and charity. I have not met with any that have appeared to live in more entire communion with God, in higher admiration of him, in a pleasanter sense of his love, or in a more joyful expectation of eternal life, than some that have been wont with great delight publicly to worship God in the use of our Common-Prayer; and others I have known, as highly excelling in the same respects, that could by no means relish it, but have always counted it insipid and nauseous. The like may be said of relishing or disrelishing sermons preached in a digested set of words, or with a more flowing freedom of speech. It were endless and odious to vie either better judgments, or more pious inclinations, that should universally determine men either the one way or the other in these matters. And we are no more to wonder at these peculiarities in the temper of men's minds, than at their different tastes of meats and drinks; much less to fall out with them, that their minds and notions are not just formed as ours are: for we should remember, they no more differ from us, than we do from them; and if we think

we have the clearer light, it is like they also think they have clearer. And it is in vain to say, who shall be judge. For every man will at length judge of his own notions for himself, and cannot help it; for no man's judgment (or relish of things, which influences his judgment, though he know it not) is at the command of his will; and much less of another man's. And, therefore,

“6. Let us not be offended mutually with one another, for our different choice of this or that way, wherein we find most of real advantage and edification. Our greatest concern in this world, and which is common to us all, is the bettering of our spirits, and preparing them for a better world. Let no man be displeased, especially of those who agree in all the substantial of the same holy religion, that another uses the same liberty, in choosing the way most conducing in his experience to his great end, that he himself also uses, expecting to do it without another man's offence.

“7. But above all, let us, with sincere minds, more earnestly endeavour the promoting the interest of religion itself, of true reformed Christianity, than of this or that party. Let us long to see the religion of Christians become simple, primitive, agreeable to its lovely original state, and again itself; and each in our own stations contribute thereto all that we are able, labouring

that the internal principle of it may live and flourish in our own souls, and be to our utmost diffused and spread unto other men's. And for its externals, as the ducture of our rule will guide us, so gradually bend towards one common course, that there may at length cease to be any divided parties at all.

“In the mean time, while there are, let it be remembered, that the difference lies among Christians and Protestants, not between such and Pagans. Let us therefore carry it accordingly towards each other; and consider our assemblies are all Christian and Protestant assemblies, differing in their administrations, for the most part, not in the things prayed for, or deprecated, or taught, but in certain modes of expression; and differing really, and in the substance of things, less by mere conformity or nonconformity to the public rule of the law, than many of them that are under it do from one another, and than divers that are not under it. For instance, go into one congregation, that is a conforming one, and you have the public prayers read in the desk, and afterwards a form of prayer perhaps used by the Preacher in the pulpit, of his own composure, before he begins his sermon. Go into another congregation, and prayer is performed without either sort of form; and perhaps the difference in this is not so great. It may be the Conformist uses no preconceived form of his own, and the

Nonconformist may. Both instruct the people out of the same holy book of God's word. But now suppose one of the former sort reads the public prayers gravely, with the appearance of great reverence, fervency, and pious devotion; and one of the latter sort that uses them not, does, however, pray for the same things, with judgment and with like gravity and affection, and they both instruct their hearers fitly and profitably; nothing is more evident than that the worship in these two assemblies doth much less considerably differ to a pious and judicious mind, than if in the latter the prayers were also read, but carelessly, sleepily, or scenically, flauntingly, and with manifest irreverence, and the sermon like the rest; or than if in the former, all the performance were inept, rude, or very offensively drowsy or sluggish.

“Now let us show ourselves men, and manly Christians, nor swayed by trifles and little things, as children by this or that dress or mode, or form of our religion, which may perhaps please some the more for its real indecency: but know, that if we continue bickering about forms, the life be lost, and we come to bear the character of that Church, ‘Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead,’ we may ere long, after all the wonders God hath wrought for us, expect to hear of our candlestick being removed, and that our sun shall go down at noon-day.

“The true serious spirit and power of religion and godliness, will act no man against his conscience, or his rule understood, but will oblige him in all acts of worship, as well as of his whole conversation, to keep close to Gospel-prescription, so far as he can discern it. And that he will find requires, that, in subordination to the divine glory, he seriously design the working out the salvation of his own soul, and take that course in order thereto, put himself under such a ministry, and such a way of using God’s ordinances, as he finds most profitable and conducing to that great end, and that doth his soul most real good. If you are religious, or of this or that mode or way of religion, to serve a carnal design for yourself or your party, not to save your soul, you commit the most detestable sacrilege, and alienate the most sacred thing in the world, religion, from its true end ; which will not only lose that end, but infer a heavy vengeance. Yea, and it is too possible to transgress dangerously, by preferring that which is less, though never so confidently thought to be divine, before that which is greater, or separately from its true end. You greatly prevaricate, if you are more zealously intent to promote Independency than Christianity, Presbytery than Christianity, Prelacy than Christianity, as any of these are the interest of a party, and not considered in subserviency to the Christian interest nor designed for promoting the edifica-

tion and salvation of your own soul. But, that being your design, living religion will keep your eye upon your end, and make you steady, and constantly true to that, and to your rule, without which you can never hope to reach your end.

“Now hereupon such as conform to the public Establishment, and they that dissent from it, may differ from each other upon a twofold account: either, 1. As judging the contrary way to be simply unlawful; or, 2. As judging it to be only less edifying. It is not the business of this paper to discuss who herein judge aright, or who wrong: but supposing their judgment to remain as it is, (which they themselves should examine, and if it be wrong, rectify,) I shall say somewhat to each of these cases.

“To the former, while your judgment continues as it is, it is true you cannot join in worship with the contrary-minded: but nothing forbids, but you can be kind, conversable, courteous towards them; and your common Christian profession, besides the rules of humanity, obliges you so to be; yea, and even to converse with them as occasion invites, more intimately as Christians, the visible marks of serious Christianity appearing in them.

“To the latter sort it is acknowledged, you cannot constantly join in worship with those of the contrary way, because you ought ordinarily to worship God in that way which you judge to be

best, and most agreeable to the divine rule, (though you are not obliged utterly to abandon any for its imperfections or corruptions, that is not corrupt in the very essentials,) and you ought most frequently to attend on that which you find to be most edifying to your own soul; as that should be your more ordinary diet that best agrees with you. That way, therefore, you must most constantly adhere to, which is most grateful and savoury to you; because you cannot so much edify by what you less relish. But your judgment and latitude will well allow you, sometimes to frequent the assemblies with which you hold not constant communion. And if it will allow, it will also direct you thereto for a valuable end; as that you may signify, you ordinarily decline them not as no Christians, or their worship as no worship, but as more defective, or less edifying, and that you may maintain love, and both express and beget a disposition to nearer union. And if our rulers shall judge such intercourses conducing to so desirable an end, they may perhaps in due time think it reasonable to put things into that state, that Ministers of both sorts may be capable of inviting one another, occasionally, to the brotherly offices of mutual assistance in each other's congregations. For which, and all things that tend to make us a happy people, we must wait upon Him in whose hands their hearts are."

CHAPTER IX.

THE differences among the Dissenting Ministers soon after the Revolution, and when they had obtained a toleration, were very unhappy; and the more so, because they gave too much occasion to those to insult, who had often said, "Do but let these people alone, and you will see they will soon fall out among themselves." We may date the rise of them from the Heads of Agreement, assented to by the body of the United Ministers, in and about the city, and in the several parts of the country, which were published in 1691. Mr. Howe had a considerable hand in drawing them up. The design of them was to bring those that were Presbyterian and those that were Congregational in their judgments, to a coalition, that so their difference might for the future be buried in oblivion. But it so fell out, that some few of those who were in their judgment strictly Congregational, standing out, and refusing to approve these Heads of Agreement, and concur in the designed union, plied their brethren who were of the same sentiments with them, who had consented to the union, so close, that they gave them no rest till they broke off from those, to whom it was intended they should for the future have been more strictly united. It was observed in Germany, that that which they

called "The Book of Concord," was the occasion of great discord: so also this designed union among us was the occasion of new divisions and quarrels. It was indeed at first much applauded, and the Heads of Agreement were generally approved and subscribed, and they who styled themselves "The United Brethren" acted very harmoniously, and had weekly meetings, in which matters of common concernment were managed and adjusted with great unanimity. They, by consent, published a declaration against Mr. Richard Davis, of Rothwell in the county of Northampton, and did several other things that might have contributed to the keeping up order and regularity, and the making the Dissenters appear a compacted body: but at length they had separate weekly meetings, and such feuds and jealousies arose amongst them, as issued in a rupture that had affecting consequences, in which it was apprehended that they who never were of the union, had no small hand. One great occasion of the debates now on foot was the reprinting of the Works of Dr. Crisp, (who was noted for his Antinomian notions, though reputed a very pious man,) with some sermons added; to which a paper was prefixed, subscribed by several; for which a sort of an apology was afterwards published, which was prefixed to Mr. John Flavel's discourse entitled, "A Blow at the Root; or, the Causes and Cures of mental

Errors." Mr., afterwards Dr., Daniel Williams wrote against the errors of these sermons, a book entitled, "Gospel Truth stated and vindicated," to which also there were several names subscribed; and Mr. Lorimer wrote a large apology for those subscribers; and a great variety of pamphlets were published on both sides, which made a great noise and stir. And at length, there came out in 1692 a paper entitled, "The Agreement in Doctrine among the Dissenting Ministers in London," which was subscribed by Mr. Howe among the rest: but it answered not the end; for the debates were still continued.

One party suspected, or at least pretended to suspect, the other of verging towards Arminianism, and even Socinianism; and they on the other side charged them with encouraging Antinomianism. Several papers were hereupon drawn up and subscribed, in order to an accommodation; there was a first, a second, and a third paper, of this sort: and these very papers created new altercations and debates, that were carried on with no small heat and pettishness; and a number that stood by could hardly tell what it was they contended about. Several new Creeds were framed, and still objected against by some or other, either as too large or too strait, too full or too empty. The world was wearied out with pamphlets and creed-making, and the Bishop of Worcester and Dr. Edwards were appealed to,

and gave their judgment; and yet the jealousies that were on foot were so strong, that they did not of a long time abate or decrease: and the only peace there was to be found, was among a few standers by, who without meddling with debates, amicably persuaded the contenders, since they could not agree to unite, to agree to differ, to lay aside their heat, and speak as well of each other as they could. And such were the effects of these brangles at that time, upon the most common conversation, and so odd do the controversies that were then managed appear, if reviewed at a distance, as to convince considerate observers, that there is no such enemy to peace as jealousy encouraged; and that indulged suspicion is an endless fund of contention.

I cannot help here inserting a passage out of Bishop Stillingfleet, in his answer to Mr. Lobb's appeal. "There is," says he, "a remarkable story in the history of the Synod of Dort, which may not be improper in this place. There were in one of the Universities of that country two Professors, both very warm and extremely zealous for that which they accounted the most orthodox doctrine; but it happened that one of these accused the other before the Synod for no fewer than fifty errors, tending to Socinianism, Pelagianism, &c., and wonderful heat there was on both sides. At last a Committee was appointed to examine this dreadful charge; and

upon examination they found no ground for the charge of Socinianism, or any other heresy, but only that he had asserted too much the use of ambiguous and scholastic terms, and endeavoured to bring in the way of the schoolmen in his writings; and therefore the Synod dismissed him with that prudent advice, rather to keep to the language of the Scripture, than of the schools."

But as to Mr. Howe, he had sufficiently declared his judgment with respect to the matters which were now so eagerly disputed on, in the writings which he had published; and it was his great aim to keep things from running to extremity. In order to it, he published "The Carnality of Christian Contention," in two sermons preached at the Merchants' Lecture in Broad-street, in 1693. The preface to these discourses "breathes so heavenly a charity and concern for the truly Christian interest, that," as Mr. Spademan observes, "a very eminent Divine of the established Church did profess a willingness to lay down his own life, if such a state of things as is there described might obtain among Christians."

I shall be at the pains to transcribe from thence a few remarkable passages. He observes, that when in one place Christians are exhorted "to contend earnestly for the faith," and are told in another that "the servant of the Lord must not strive," it is plain there is a contention for

religion which is a duty, and a contention even concerning religion which is a sin. "The servant of the Lord must not strive," so as to exclude gentleness, aptness to instruct, and patience: and "we are to contend earnestly for the faith," but with a sedate mind, full of charity, candour, kindness, and benignity, towards them we strive with. There is a great difference between the church's contention with enemies without it, and contentions within itself. The former unite it, and increase its strength and vigour; the latter divide and enfeeble it. As to those of this latter kind, nothing is more evident, or deserves to be more considered, than that as the Christian church has grown more carnal, it hath grown more contentious; and as more contentious, still more and more carnal. The savour hath been lost of the great things of the Gospel, which only afford proper nutriment to the life of godliness; and it hath diverted to lesser things, about which the contentious disputative genius might employ itself. Thereby hath it grown strong and vigorous, and acquired the power to transform the church from a spiritual society, enlivened, acted, and governed by the Spirit of Christ, into a mere carnal thing like the rest of the world. Carnality hath become its governing principle, and torn it into fragments and parties, each of which will be the church, enclose itself within its own peculiar limits, exclusive of all the rest, claim and appro-

priate to itself the rights and privileges which belong to the Christian church in common, yea, and Christ himself, as if he were to be so inclosed or confined. Hence it is said, "Lo, here is Christ, and, There he is," till he is scarce to be found any where. And how manifest are the tokens of his displeasure and retirement ! Hereupon he offers it to consideration,

1. Whether for any party of Christians, to make unto itself other limits of communion than Christ hath made, and hedge up itself within those limits, excluding those whom Christ would admit, and admitting those whom he would exclude, be not in itself a real sin ? The holy table is the symbol of communion : and if it be the Lord's, it ought to be free to his guests, and appropriate to them. Who should dare to invite others, or forbid these ?

2. If it be a sin, is it not a heinous one ? Christianity itself should measure the communion of Christians as such ; and visible Christianity their visible communion. Christianity must be estimated principally by its end, which refers not to this world, but to the world to come, and a happy state there. Christians are a sort of men tending to God and blessedness, under the conduct of Christ, to whom they have by covenant devoted themselves, and to God in him. If any society of men, professedly Christian, make limits of their communion, admitting

those that Christ's rule excludes, and excluding them whom it would admit, they break Christ's constitution, and set up another. If they be little things only that we add; the less they are, the greater the sin, to make them necessary, and hang so great things upon them; break the church's peace and unity by them, and of them to make a new Gospel, new terms of life and death, a new way to heaven! and is in effect to say, "If you will not take Christianity with these additions of ours, you shall not be Christians; you shall have no Christian ordinances, no Christian worship; we will, as far as in us is, exclude you heaven itself, and all means of salvation!" If this be sinful, it is a sin of the deepest die. But,

3. If we suppose this a sin and a heinous one, how far doth the guilt of it spread! How few are they that lay their communions open to visible Christianity as such, excluding none of whatsoever denomination, nor receiving any that by Christian rational estimate cannot be judged such!

4. How few that consider this as the provoking cause of Christ's being so much a stranger to the Christian church! and how little is it to be hoped we shall ever see good days, till this wasting evil is redressed! Carnal interest is the thing every where designed by one party and another. The church for thirteen or fourteen hundred years, hath been

gradually growing a multiform, mangled, shattered, and most deformed thing; broken and parcelled into nobody knows how many several sorts of communions. Not only things most alien from real Christianity are added to it, but substituted in the room of it, and preferred before it: yea, and things most destructive of it indulged and magnified in opposition to it. Never were there more fervent contentions among all sorts, whose notions, opinions, modes, and forms are to be preferred. The word of God tells us, that "to be carnally minded is death." These contests seem therefore to express great solicitude how most neatly to adorn a carcase; or at best how, with greatest art and curiosity, to trim and apparel gorgeously a languishing man in the feared approaches of death, instead of endeavouring to save his life.

It were a happy omen, if good men could once agree what in particular to pray for. One would think it should not be difficult to men of sincere minds, upon serious consideration of the present sad state of things, to agree to pray that the church of Christ may be more entirely one, and that unity might be preserved in the bond of peace, and this in order to its growth to the measure of the stature of a perfect man in Christ: for who sees not, that the Christian interest is naturally obstructed in its extensive growth by the visible disunion of the Christian community?

and penally too, by the offence given to the Spirit of Christ, who thereupon in great degrees withdraws itself? That only which the present state of things admits of is, that we keep ourselves united in mind and spirit with all serious Christians, in the plain and necessary things wherein they all agree; and preserve a resolved unaddictedness to any party in the things wherein they differ. That for actual local communion, we join with them that we judge come nearest to our common rule; and labour to centre in some such scheme of doctrinals as may be of use distinctly to inform others concerning our sentiments; provided it be avowed to be looked upon but as a *mensura mensurata*, reserving unto the Scriptures the honour of being the only *mensura mensurans*, and so that we only own it as agreeable to the Scriptures: declaring we take it to be agreeable thereto in the main, and for substance, without attributing a sacredness to the very words of a mere human composition, which indeed we cannot attribute to the words used in the translation of the Bible itself, &c.

In the two discourses that follow, he shows that much of a very blamable carnality may show itself in and about spiritual matters, and particularly even in defending the truths of the Gospel, and that this may be discovered by several indications.

And he declares this to be the case, when

Christians, who are very far agreed in the most important things, make little of the things wherein they are agreed, though ever so great, in comparison of the much less things wherein they differ: and when there is too much aptness to lay greater stress than is needful upon some unscriptural words, in delivering Scripture doctrine: when we consider with too little indulgence one another's mistakes and misapplications in the use even of Scripture words, placing them, as some may do, upon things to which they do not properly belong, when yet they agree about the things themselves: when there is an agreement about the main and principal things that the Scripture revelation contains and carries in it; but there is not that agreement about their mutual respects and references unto one another: and when we are over-intent to mould and square Gospel truths and doctrines by human measures and models, and too earnestly strive to make them correspond.

He adds, that carnality also appears, when there is a discernible proneness to oppose the great things of the Gospel to one another, and to exalt or magnify one above or against another: when any do with great zeal contend for this or that opinion or notion as very sacred and highly spiritual, with no other design than that under that pretence they may indulge their own carnal inclination with the greater liberty: when in

maintaining any doctrine of the Gospel in opposition to others, we industriously set ourselves to pervert their meaning, and impute things to them that they never say; or if we charge their opinions whom we oppose, with consequences which they disclaim: when disputes arise at length to wrath, to angry strife, yea, and even to fixed enmity: when any adventure to judge of the consciences and states of them whom they oppose or from whom they differ: when we over-magnify our own understandings, and assume too much to ourselves: and then finally, carnality greatly shows itself, in an affectation and desire of having such disputes still kept afoot, and the contests continued, without either limit or rational design.

He illustrates each article by suitable instances; and then cries out, "Can none remember when the disputative humour had even eaten out the power and spirit of practical religion and godliness? Thither things are again tending, if, either by severity or mercy, God do not prevent and repress that tendency. As yet I fear the humour is violent, when the fervour of men's spirits is such, as to carry them over all Scripture directions and animadversions, that they may signify nothing with them; only make it their business each one to animate the more vogued champions of their own party into the highest ferments. Let us consider we are pro-

fessedly going to heaven. We shall carry truth and the knowledge of God thither with us; we shall carry purity thither, devotedness of soul to God and our Redeemer, divine love and joy, with whatever else of real permanent excellency hath a fixed seat and place in our souls. But do we think we shall carry strife to heaven? Shall we carry anger to heaven? Envyings, heart-burnings, animosities, enmities, hatred of our brethren and fellow-Christians, shall we carry these to heaven with us? Let us labour to divert ourselves, and strike off from our spirits every thing that shall not go with us to heaven, or is equally unsuitable to our end and way, that there may be nothing to obstruct and hinder our abundant entrance at length into the everlasting kingdom."

But no reasonings, expostulations, or complaints would avail to extinguish the flame that was kindled. At length, there was a design formed, in 1694, to exclude Mr. Williams out of the lecture at Pinners'-hall; and then there was a new Tuesday lecture set up at Salters'-hall, and Dr. Bates, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Alsop bore Mr. Williams company in this new lecture; and the other two who continued at Pinners'-hall, namely, Mr. Mead and Mr. Cole, had four more joined to them. Mr. Howe, in his first turn at the new lecture in Salters'-hall, preached a very affecting sermon from Isaiah lxiv. 7: "And there is none that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth up himself

to take hold of thee : for thou hast hid thy face from us, and hast consumed us because of our iniquities." And after this, no farther attempts, as I know of, were made for a coalition, but the heat and strangeness abated by degrees, and they learned to keep up a friendly correspondence with each other, making allowance for a diversity of sentiments ; but acting in concert in all matters of common concernment, which was by experience found to be much more comfortable, than the continuance of strife and contention, which tends to confusion, and every evil work.

However, having obtained a copy of a letter, written by Mr. Howe, to his intimate friend Mr. Spilsbury, (at his desire,) upon occasion of the setting up another Tuesday lecture, I shall here insert it, because it may help to give some light into this matter :—

“ LONDON, *April 20th*, 1695.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ You strangely forget yourself, when you say I gave you no account of the Pinners'-hall business, of which I sent you a large narrative, when the business was recent ; which if it miscarried, tell me so, and I promise you I will never do the like again ; for it is a very discouraging thing, when it is so hard a matter to get time to write such long letters, to have them lost by the way ; or it is not better, if when they are

received, they are taken *pro non scriptis*. God knows how I strove against that division. Almost all my friends that called me to bear a part in that lecture, perceiving the violence of the other party, agreed to remove to a much more convenient place: and they were, so far as I can learn, the greatest part of the ancient subscribers, who were grave, sober citizens. They invited Mr. Mead as well as me. If he would not go, I could not help that. His acquaintance lay more among the other, as mine did with these. He and they all know the many meetings we have had to prevent the breach; he and I with divers of them on both sides. And they, who are now of Pinners'-hall, ran against his advice and mine, when they had desired us to meet purposely to advise them. He hath been since as weary of them as others, as he hath owned to me. They avowed it for a principle before we parted, they would lay any of us aside at their pleasure, without giving a reason; and were told thereupon, we would lay down without giving them a reason; though I think that itself was a sufficient reason. They know too, how often, since the lecture was broken into two, and it appeared now there were two congregations, which no one place could receive, I have urged both publicly and privately, that the same lecturers might alternate in both places, which would take away all appearance of disunion; and

who they were only that opposed it. Upon these terms I had preached with them still ; but I will not be tied to them, nor any party, so as to abandon all others. My frequent insisting in sermons among them, when I saw whither things tended, that these were tokens of what was coming, (just as thou writest,) will be thought on it may be hereafter, though then it was not. Above all, that which determined me was, that when I solemnly proposed to them in a sermon, the keeping a fast, before they went on to that fatal rupture ; and it was as solemnly promised by the chief of them, there should be no step farther made without a fast ; it should be declined afterwards. Hereupon I told them in my last sermon there, I should be afraid of confining myself to such as were afraid of fasting and prayer in so important a case, (repeating their own good resolution to that purpose,) and began my course in the other place with a fast, to lament what we could not prevent. These things will be recollected another day.

“ In the mean time there never was greater intimacy or endearment between Mr. Mead and me, than now. Last week, he desired me only, without any other, to join with him in keeping a fast at his house, about some private affairs of his own ; which we did. I was to have preached at his place to-morrow, after my own work at home ; but present indisposition pre-

vents me as to both. We have, however, agreed to exchange sometimes ; but this cannot last long. The things that threaten us make haste. Only let us be found among the mourners in Zion ; comforts will come in this or the better world. I just now heard from Mr. Porter out of Sussex, who inquires after thee.

“In the Lord, farewell ; to thee and thine,
from me and mine, with most entire
and undecaying affection.

“J. HOWE.”

Great also were the debates that were at this time on foot about the doctrine of the Trinity. Different explications of that doctrine had been published by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. South, and Dr. Cudworth, and others ; and a certain writer published “Considerations” on these explications, which occasioned Mr. Howe in 1694 to publish a tract entitled, “A calm and sober Inquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead, in a Letter to a Person of Worth.” To which were added, some letters formerly written to Dr. Wallis, on the same subject.

In this discourse he waves the question about three persons in the Deity, though he declares the use of that term neither blamable, nor indefensible ; and only inquires whether the Father, the Son or Word, and the Holy Ghost, cannot

possibly admit of sufficient distinction from one another, to answer the parts and purposes severally assigned them by the Scripture, in the Christian economy, and yet be each of them God, consistently with this indubitable truth,—that there can be but one God. This he asserts, to be no absurdity or contradiction.

This inquiry of Mr. Howe was reflected on, in a postscript to the defence of Dr. Sherlock's "Notion of the Trinity in Unity;" and thereupon he, in the same year, published a letter to a friend concerning that postscript.

After this, there came out "Some Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, in a Letter to H. H." And Mr. Howe being therein concerned, in 1695 published "A View of those Considerations," in a letter to the former friend.

He declares, that the perusal of these very Considerations gave him more confidence about his hypothesis, than he allowed himself before, finding that the sagacious author of them, of whose abilities and industry together he really had that opinion, as to count him the most likely to confute it of all the modern Anti-Trinitarians, had no other way to deal with it, than first both partially and invidiously to represent it; and then rather to trifle than argue against it.

CHAPTER X.

MR. HOWE had all along from his first quitting his church, upon the taking place of the Act of Uniformity, carried himself with great calmness and moderation, and had openly declared for occasional conformity, before communicating with the established Church was a necessary qualification for a place in the magistracy ; and it was the same also as to a number of his brethren : and yet when the chief Magistrate in the city of London had carried the regalia to a Dissenting congregation, it occasioned no small clamour ; and when a little after Sir Thomas Abney, who was a worthy member of Mr. Howe's congregation, (than whom none ever filled the chair of the city with greater honour,) went publicly to worship God (in 1701, which was the year of his mayoralty) sometimes in the established Church, and sometimes among the Dissenters, a pamphlet was published, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters ;" in which this practice was represented as very scandalous, and a preface was prefixed to Mr. Howe, in which he was called on either to vindicate it or declare against it. Mr. Howe did not much care to enter upon an argument of that nature with one of so warm a temper as the author of that Inquiry, and contented himself with a short return to him in a small pamphlet, that

was entitled, "Some Consideration of a Preface to an Inquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters;" in which he tells the prefacer, that he for a long time had had an habitual aversion in his own mind, from perplexing himself or disturbing others by being concerned in agitating the controversies that have been on foot about the circumstantialia of religion; that he had contented himself, by the best means he could be furnished with, and the best use God enabled him to make of them, so far to form and settle his own judgment as was necessary to his own practice; that he had faithfully followed his judgment, and abstained in the mean time from censuring others, who took a different way from him; that he was sensible every one must give account of himself to God; and that it is a great consolation to such as sincerely fear God, that if with upright minds they principally study to approve themselves to him, and, if they mistake, do only err for fear of erring, he will not with severity animadvert upon the infirmity of a weak and merely misguided judgment; and that it is a sure truth, worth all this world, that to an honest unbiassed heart, it is a far easier thing to please God, than men; that they that contend fervently and conclude positively concerning church power, &c., often discover more confidence than knowledge or solid judgment, and much oftener little of the spirit of Christ and the Gospel.

He further tells the prefacer, that before he had offered at engaging him in this quarrel, he ought to have been well assured, that he did really concern himself to advise one way or other, as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of that occasional conformity, about which he contended ; or at least, that he ought to have done so ; but that not being able to make either of these appear, he had been guilty of an affectation of intermeddling beyond any call he had, that could lead him to it ; that he had pretended to judge in a matter he had nothing to do with ; and that he had taken upon him to invade the throne of the Most High, in charging the worthy person referred to with acting against his conscience. He tells him, that before he concluded that with so rash confidence, he ought to have been able to prove the act in its circumstance unlawful. And his making use of that text, about following God or Baal, as if the God of the Dissenters and of the established Church differed as the living God and Baal, he tells him was profane and impious wit. And he at last adds, that the person by him criminated might, notwithstanding any thing he had said, be in the right ; but that if the prefacer's judgment upon the case was true, he conceived that that truth, accompanied with his temper of spirit, was much worse than the other's error.

But by this time, when that little charity that

we had remaining among us was just expiring, Mr. Howe began to be weary of living. He had seen enough of the world, to discern how unfit a place it was to continue to dwell in. He wanted to breathe in nobler air, and inhabit better regions. And we shall soon see how he fled thither, when we have touched on those Works of his that have been hitherto unmentioned, the account of which stands thus:—

In 1690 he published a Funeral Sermon, on Mrs. Esther Sampson, late wife of Henry Sampson, Doctor of Physic, who died Nov. 24th, 1689, from Luke xiii. 16.

In 1695, a Discourse relating to the much-lamented Death, and solemn Funeral, of our incomparable and most gracious Queen Mary, of most blessed Memory; dedicated to the Right Honourable Rachel, Lady Russell.

In 1698, a Sermon on the much-lamented Death of that reverend and worthy Servant of Christ, Mr. Richard Adams, M.A., sometime Fellow of Brasenose College in Oxon; afterwards Minister of St. Mildred's, Bread-street, London; more lately Pastor of a Congregation in Southwark, who deceased Feb. 7th, 1697–8.

The same year also he printed a Sermon preached on the Day of Thanksgiving, Dec. 2d, 1697; and another to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, from Rom. xiii. 4.

In 1699 he printed a Funeral Sermon on that

reverend and most laborious Servant of Christ in the Work of the Ministry, Mr. Matthew Mead, who deceased Oct. 16th, this year, which is dedicated to the Lord and Lady Haversham. The same year also came out another discourse of his, concerning "the Redeemer's Dominion over the invisible World, and the Entrance therein by Death:" preached on the occasion of the death of John Hoghton, Esq., eldest son of Sir Charles Hoghton, of Hoghton-tower, in the county of Lancaster, Bart. And soon after came out the Funeral Sermon of the Rev. Dr. William Bates, dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

In 1701 he printed a twofold discourse of "Man's Enmity against God," and "Reconciliation between God and Man," from Col. i. 21.

In 1702 he published the second part of "the Living Temple," containing animadversions on Spinosa, and a French writer pretending to confute him; with a recapitulation of the former part, and an account of the destitution and restitution of God's temple amongst men; which is dedicated to William, Lord Paget, Baron of Beaudesert, in the county of Stafford. The same year he also published a sermon at the funeral of Mr. Peter Vink, B.D.

On Nov. 5th, 1703, he preached a sermon on Col. i. 13, which he afterwards printed.

And the last thing he published was a discourse "of Patience," relating to the expectation

of future blessedness ; to which there was afterwards added an Appendix, which came out in 1705. And this was what he now had particular occasion for. For having employed his time, strength, and interest in the most valuable services, he by this time was wasted with several diseases, which he bore with great patience, and a resigned submission to the will of his heavenly Father. He discovered no fear of dying, but, even when his end drew near, was very serene and calm. He seemed indeed sometimes to have been got to heaven, even before he had laid aside that mortality which he had been long expecting to have swallowed up life. It was observed, that in his last illness, and when he had been declining for some time, he was once in a most affecting, melting, heavenly frame at the communion, and carried out into such a ravishing and transporting celebration of the love of Christ, that both he himself, and they who communicated with him, were apprehensive he would have expired in that very service. And though nature was considerably spent in him, yet was there somewhat even in the manner of his dying that was remarkable, and worthy of observation.

He would be very pleasant sometimes in his last sickness, and conversed freely with such as came to visit him ; and they were many of all ranks. Among the rest, Richard Cromwell, (who was now grown old, and had lived many

years retired from the world, since the time when Mr. Howe was his Domestic Chaplain,) hearing that he was going off the stage, came to make him a respectful visit, and take his farewell of him before he died. There was a great deal of serious discourse between them. Tears were freely shed on both sides, and the parting was very solemn, as I have been informed by one that was present upon the occasion. Many elder and younger Ministers also frequently visited him; and he was very free in discourse with them, and talked like one of another world, and that had raised and uncommon hopes of that blessedness there which his heart had long been set upon.

Having been very bad one evening, and being by the next morning unexpectedly recruited, he was cheerful: which being taken notice of by those that were about him, he said he was for feeling that he was alive; and yet he was most willing to die, and lay that clog, as he called his body, aside. Of this there is this plain proof, that he once told his wife, that though he thought he loved her as well as it was fit for one creature to love another, yet if it were put to his choice, whether to die that moment, or to live that night, and the living that night would secure the continuance of his life for seven years to come, he declared he would choose to die that moment. Being at last quite worn out, he finished his course with joy, April 2d, 1705, and

was translated into the calm and peaceable regions of the blessed above, where nothing but perfect charity and serenity reign for ever.

He was interred in the parish church of St. Allhallows, Bread-street; and his funeral sermon was preached April 8th, by his great admirer, and most respectful fellow-labourer, Mr. John Spademan, from 2 Tim. iii. 14.

Some time after his decease, Mr. George Hughes, of Canterbury, wrote to Dr. George Howe, the eldest son of his deceased uncle, desiring an account from him of what manuscripts Mr. Howe had left behind him, or any particularities that were fit to be communicated to one so nearly related to him, and that had so great respect and value for his memory. The Doctor returned him an answer in the following words:—

“SIR,

“I AM extremely concerned that some time before my honoured father’s decease, I was utterly disabled to reap the advantage myself, and communicate it to friends, of the large memorials he had collected, of the material passages of his own life, and of the times wherein he lived, which he most industriously concealed, till his last illness, when having lost his speech, which I thought he would not recover, he surprisingly called me to him, and gave me a key, and ordered

me to bring all the papers, which were stitched up in a multitude of small volumes, and made me solemnly promise him, notwithstanding all my reluctance, immediately to destroy them, which accordingly I did; and have left me no other of his writings, but his short sermon-notes, excepting some passages in the frontispiece of the Bible he used in his study, which I here transmit to you, and know it will be very acceptable. I am sorry I can give no farther account; but that is a *magnum in parvo*: &c.

“I am

“Your sincerely affectionate kinsman,
and humble servant,

“GEORGE HOWE.”

The transcript from the blank page in Mr. Howe's Bible, which the foregoing letter refers to, was in these words following, which were written with his own hand; and they yet remain there:—

Dec. 26th, 89. Quum diu apud me seriò recogitarem, præter certum et indubium assensum rebus fidei adhibendum, necessarium insuper esse vivificum quendam earundem gustum et saporem, ut majori cum vi et efficaciâ in ipsissima cordis penetralia sese insererent; ibidemque altiùs infixæ, vitam eo potentiùs regerent; neque aliter de bono Deum versus statu conclusum iri, sive sanum iudicium posse ratum haberi; cumque pro concione,

2 Cor. i. 12, *fusiùs tractassem, hoc ipso mane ex hujus modi somnio dulcissimo, primò evigilavi: mirum scilicet a superno divinæ Majestatis solio cœlestium radiorum profluvium in apertum meum hiansque pectus, infusum esse videbatur.*

Sæpiùs ab illo insigni die, memorabile illud pignus divini favoris, grato animo recolui, atque dulcedinem ejusdem iterum atque iterum degustavi.

Quæ autem Oct. 22d, 1704, id genus miranda Dei mei benignitate, et suavissimâ Spiritus Sancti operatione percepi, omnium verborum quæ mihi suppetit copiam, plane superant ! Perquam jucundam cordis emollitionem expertus sum, fuis præ gaudio lachrymis, quod amor Dei per corda diffunderetur, mihiq; speciatim donato in hunc finem Spiritu suo. (Rom. v. 5.)

I add a translation of these memorable passages, made by Mr. John Spademan, than whom none ever more esteemed and valued the author of them :—

“Dec. 26th, 1689. After that I had long, seriously, and repeatedly thought with myself, that besides a full and undoubted assent to the objects of faith, a vivifying savoury taste and relish of them was also necessary, that with stronger force and more powerful energy they might penetrate into the most inward centre of my heart, and there being most deeply fixed and rooted, govern my life ; and that there could be no other sure ground whereon to conclude and

pass a sound judgment, on my good estate Godward; and after I had in my course of preaching been largely insisting on, 'This is my rejoicing, the testimony of a good conscience,' &c.; (2 Cor. i. 12;) this very morning I awoke out of a most ravishing and delightful dream, that a wonderful and copious stream of celestial rays, from the lofty throne of the divine Majesty, did seem to dart into my open and expanded breast. I have often since, with great complacency, reflected on that very signal pledge of special divine favour vouchsafed to me on that noted memorable day; and have with repeated fresh pleasure tasted the delights thereof. But what of the same kind I sensibly felt through the admirable bounty of my God, and the most pleasant comforting influence of the Holy Spirit, on Oct. 22d, 1704, far surpassed the most expressive words my thoughts can suggest. I then experienced an inexpressibly pleasant melting of heart, tears gushing out of mine eyes, for joy that God should shed abroad his love abundantly through the hearts of men, and that for this very purpose mine own should be so signally possessed of and by his blessed Spirit. (Rom. v. 5.)"

His introduction or preface to his last will and testament is peculiarly solemn, and a noble confession of his faith. It runs thus:—

"I, John Howe, Minister of the Gospel of

Christ, in serious consideration (though through God's mercy in present health) of my frail and mortal state, and cheerfully waiting, blessed be God, for a seasonable unfeared dissolution of this my earthly tabernacle, and translation of the inhabiting spirit into the merciful hands of the great God, Creator, Lord of heaven and earth, whom I have taken to be my God, in and with his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, who is also over all, God blessed for ever, and my dear and glorious Redeemer and Lord; with and by the Holy Spirit of grace, my light, life, and joy; relying entirely and alone upon the free and rich mercy of the Father, vouchsafed on the account of the most invaluable sacrifice and perfect righteousness of the Son, applied unto me, according to the Gospel covenant, by the Spirit, for the pardon of the many seriously repented sins of a very faulty fruitless life, and the acceptance of my person, with my sincere though weak desires and endeavours to do him service in this world, especially as my calling, wherewith he graciously honoured me, did more particularly require, in promoting the welfare and salvation of the precious souls of men."

Besides his forementioned Works, he wrote also several prefaces to the Works of others; as to Mr. Chorlton's funeral sermon on Mr. Henry Newcome, of Manchester; to the third volume of Dr. Manton's Sermons, by way of dedication to

King William, in 1689 ; to Mr. Flavel's discourse of " Mental Errors," &c.

But I know not how to close my account of this excellent person without adding somewhat as to his character, though I am very sensible it cannot easily be given. It must have something in it that is very great and peculiar, or it will not be just. For my part, I am far from thinking good Mr. Spademan at all exceeded, when he represented him as one who had "received from the Father of lights so great a variety of both natural and Christian perfections, that he was not only a shining light and ornament of his age, but an inviting example of universal goodness ; that God gave him an uncommon skill in the word of righteousness ; and that he had peculiar advantages for understanding the oracles of God ; a large fund of natural endowments, improved by superadded preparatives unto the study of the Scriptures ; a rich treasure of human learning, particularly a thorough knowledge of Pagan theology, by which he was enabled to descry the shortness and mistakes of human reason, which faculty he well understood to use in subordination unto Christian faith, whose mysteries he was able to free from the objections of cavillers. He took care to wash the vessel, that it might be receptive of divine communications. And to these he added unwearied diligence, humility, and prayer, which was the delight and

solace of his whole life. He unfeignedly sought God's glory, and the good of the souls of men. He was impartial and faithful in reproving of sin, without respect of persons; easy of access and condescending to the lowest; and indeed became all things to all, that he might gain the more; and ready to assist all the necessitous and distressed, that he had opportunity of doing good unto. He was furnished with fortitude of mind, able to encounter the most grievous sufferings; and an eminent example of a truly Christian patience, under very sharp afflictions. And he finished his course with uncommon joy; and few ever more experienced a divine peace and serenity of mind, at the nearest approaches of death."

As to his person, he was very tall, and exceeding graceful. He had a good presence, and a piercing but pleasant eye; and there was that in his looks and carriage, that discovered he had something within that was uncommonly great, and tended to excite veneration. His intellectual accomplishments were eminent. He was one of great abstractedness of thought, a strong reasoner, and one that had a very penetrating judgment, which carried him as deep into a subject, as most men ever went that handled it. He had bright natural parts, and they were greatly improved by study and experience. He had an admirable way of thinking upon any subject that

offered ; and many times very surprising turns in discoursing upon it.

Even Mr. Wood the Oxonian himself, who very seldom has a word to say in favour of a Nonconformist, when he comes to Mr. Howe, is so unusually complaisant to him as to own that he was "a person of neat and polite parts, and moderate and calm in the smaller matters that were under debate between the Church and his party." I am afraid, if he had seen some of the things here published, he would have retracted the latter part, at least, of this fair character he gave him. Nay, and he goes so far as to commend his style too, which he says is fine, smooth, and natural. But here I doubt many will think his good humour has carried him too far, and tempted him to strain a point ; his style (as great a man as he was) being very commonly objected against, and thought the most liable to exception of any thing in his performances. Nor is this his case alone ; for Bishop Fell in his Life of Dr. Hammond, who was certainly a very great man, says, that that learned Doctor's style was "incumbered with parentheses, which made it difficult to vulgar understandings." Several have been of the same opinion with respect to the style of Mr. Howe, which Mr. Wood mentions with so particular an encomium. We may bear with such a commendation of one of his character, it being a thing so uncommon with that author. But me-

thinks it looks a little ill-natured, immediately upon his speaking so favourably of one, to pour such contempt on the rest of his persuasion, who, he says, are "most of them of sour and unpleasant converse." It may be they were not to his gust; which is the less to be wondered at, since he was so little to theirs. But this might well enough have been spared, seeing it was not thus with Mr. Howe, of whom he was now writing; for he was generally cheerful, and inoffensively pleasant.

His ministerial qualifications were singular. He could preach off hand with as great exactness, as many others upon the closest study. He delivered his sermons without notes; though he did not impose that method upon others. He had great copiousness and fluency in prayer; and the hearing him discharge that duty upon particular sudden emergencies, would have been apt to have made the greatest admirer of stunted forms ashamed of the common cavils and objections against that which is usually called "extemporary prayer." He was an excellent casuist, and would clearly solve the greatest difficulties that practice was concerned in. And though in his sermons, there was often an uncommon depth, especially at the beginning, yet he took care to become plainer in the sequel; and before he concluded, generally came with great pungency home to the consciences of his hearers; so that they

must be greatly faulty, if they did not come away from hearing him, both wiser and better.

He was one of remarkable prudence himself, and much valued and commended it in others. It was a common saying with him, that he was so far from questioning whether prudence was a virtue, that he reckoned imprudence to be a great vice and immorality. He was not apt to be swayed by interest, nor could any thing bias his judgment. And it may be said of him, as is usually said of those of the strongest reason, the greatest sagacity, and the noblest accomplishments, that he was one of great civility, candour, and ingenuity.

He was very courteous to strangers, or others that came to visit him, and received them with great decency; and never could be of the mind of those that reckon religion and piety inconsistent with good breeding.

He knew how to address himself suitably to the greatest persons, without the least mixture of what was mean or servile; and yet was able to condescend to inferiors; and was very affable to younger Ministers, whom he would use with an easy freedom, offering them as there was occasion the kindest advice.

He was very like that eminent German Divine, Martin Bucer, in the peaceableness of his temper, and a willingness to accommodate differences. He had a truly great soul, and at the

same time a very cool and moderate spirit ; and was an utter enemy to that uncharitable and censorious humour that is visible in so many. He did not (as appears from all his writings) look upon religion as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, so much as a divine discipline to reform the heart and life. In lesser matters he could freely give others the liberty of their own sentiments ; and was as unwilling to impose, as to be imposed upon.

He seems to have been born into this world to support generous principles, a truly catholic spirit, and an extensive charity. He was for carefully concealing or lessening the failings and imperfections of others ; and in that respect has admirably exemplified his own temper in his printed discourse with reference to "Charity for other Men's Sins." But whenever he found men impetuous in asserting their own opinions, and peremptory in rejecting the judgment of others, when they had taken care to set things in a due light, and add a suitable evidence, it was his way to answer with silence ; not at all caring to argue with those who, instead of soberly and modestly inquiring into truth, were always for the last word, for which (for his part) he was for giving them full leave.

He was for having nothing remain as a test or boundary of Christian communion, but what has its foundation, as such, in plain reason or

express revelation. And to him may those very words be justly applied, which he used in his character of Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon on him: "He was for entire union of all visible Christians; (or saints or believers, which in Scripture are equivalent terms;) meaning by 'Christianity' what is essential thereto, whether doctrinal or practical; as by 'humanity' we mean what is essential to man, severing accidents, as not being of the essence; and by 'visibility,' the probable appearance thereof: and for free communion of all such, of whatsoever persuasion in extra-essential matters, if they pleased. And this design he vigorously pursued as long as there was any hope; desisting when it appeared hopeless; and resolving to wait till God should give a spirit suitable hereto, from an apprehension that when principles on all hands were so easily accommodable, and yet that there was, with too many, a remaining insuperable reluctance to the thing itself, God must work the cure, and not man: accounting also, in the mean time, that, notwithstanding misrepresentations, it was better to cast a mantle over the failings of brethren, than be concerned to detect and expose them; knowing that if we are principally solicitous for the name of God, he will in his own way and time take care of ours." And as Mr. Howe says in Dr. Bates's case, so may I also say in his, "In this sentiment he was not alone."

In many cases he discovered uncommon sagacity: I shall particularly mention one instance, the truth of which may be depended on. In King Charles's reign, he had it signified to him by several, that a certain nobleman, that was at that time great at Court, was desirous to see him. Taking an opportunity to wait upon him, and being easily admitted, the great man signified that his visit was very acceptable, and seemed to be willing to enter into particular freedoms with him. Among a great many other things, he told him, that he was very sensible that the Dissenters were a considerable body of people that deserved regard; and that it was his apprehension that if they had a person that was near the King, and had a good interest at Court, that would give them hints by way of advice for their conduct upon critical emergencies, and that was able and ready to convey their requests to His Majesty, as occasion might require, it would be much for their advantage. And he was pleased to express himself in such a manner, that Mr. Howe thought he could easily gather, that the maker of the motion had no aversion from being the person pitched upon, for the purpose mentioned. After a little pause, he made this reply: that the Dissenters being a religious people, he thought it highly concerned them, if they fixed upon any particular person for that purpose, to make choice of one that would not be ashamed

of them, and whom at the same time they might have no occasion to be ashamed of; and that a person in whom there was a concurrence of these two qualifications was very difficult to find. And he heard no more of him. And it is with me past doubt, that they that were admitted to the knowledge of the secret history of his life, could have recollected several such instances, had the communicating Memoirs concerning him been sooner thought of, and attempted.

In common conversation he was many times very pleasant and facetious. Some of his sudden repartees were very remarkable, and deserve to be preserved. Being at dinner with some persons of good fashion, there was one gentleman in the company that expatiated with great freedom in praise of King Charles I., and made some indecent reflections upon others, that were not at all agreeable to several at the table. Mr. Howe observing he intermixed a great many horrid oaths with his discourse, took the freedom to tell him, that in his humble opinion he had wholly omitted one very great excellency which the Prince he had so much extolled was so generally owned to have belonging to him, that he had not known of any one that had the face to contest it. The gentleman seemed not a little pleased to have Mr. Howe come in as a voucher for the Prince he applauded, and was impatient to know what that particular excellence was that he

referred to. And when he had pressed for it with importunity, he at length told him it was this,—that he was never known to swear an oath in his common conversation. The gentleman took the reproof, and promised to forbear swearing for the future.

At another time, as Mr. Howe was walking along, he passed by two persons of quality, who were talking freely together, and with great eagerness; and when he came near them, he heard them damn each other most abominably: whereupon pulling off his hat, and saluting them with great civility, he cried out, “I pray God save you both;” which so took with them, that it for the present diverted the humour they were in, and they joined in returning him thanks.

I shall mention yet one passage more, which I think may be depended on as related. It is this; that during the continuance of the debates in Parliament about the Bill against occasional conformity, Mr. Howe walking in St. James’s Park, passed by a certain noble Lord in a chair, who sent his footman to call him to him, for that he desired to speak with him. Coming up to him, the said Lord very respectfully saluted him, signified he was glad to see him, and entered into discourse with him upon the matter depending, reckoning it a thing of no small consequence, which he intimated he had opposed to his

utmost. Among other passages upon that occasion, he so far forgot himself as to express himself thus : “ D—— these wretches ; for they are mad, and are for bringing us all into confusion.” Mr. Howe, who was no stranger to the Lord who thus entertained him with discourse, considering his character, made this reply to him : “ My Lord, it is a great satisfaction to us, who in all affairs of this nature desire to look upwards, that there is a God that governs the world, to whom we can leave the issues and events of things : and we are satisfied (and may thereupon be easy) that he will not fail in due time of making a suitable retribution to all, according to their present carriage. And this great Ruler of the world, my Lord, has among other things also declared, he will make a difference between him that sweareth, and him that feareth an oath.” My Lord was struck with his last hint, and presently replied, “ Sir, I thank you for your freedom, and take your meaning, and shall endeavour to make a good use of it.” Mr. Howe in return said, “ My Lord, I have a great deal more reason to thank your Lordship, for saving me the most difficult part of a discourse, which is the application.”

It would be well if more of his letters could be recovered.

I shall add one by way of condolence to a friend, upon the loss of an excellent wife, which

deserves to be preserved, in the following words :—

“ I SERIOUSLY lament your new affliction, whereof I lately had the surprising account. And I should be the more concerned for it, if I did not consider it hath befallen one who can with judgment estimate and suffer it. He hath enough to relieve him against the ungrateful events which our present state is liable to, who is serious in the belief of God’s universal government over this world, and that there is another. The former of these is a principle much abused by some ; which no more proves it false than the Gospel, out of which some have the mischievous skill to extract a deadly savour. It is our great privilege, for which we ought to be thankful, that by such arguments whereby we can most certainly demonstrate to ourselves, that there is a God, we can as certainly prove that he is not an Epicurean God ; unto which imaginary idol only that could belong, to be disturbed by being concerned about human affairs. But if he knew the true nature of God better, who came forth from him into our world, on purpose to make him known, we are sufficiently assured not a hair can fall from our head without him, much less so considerable a part of ourselves.

“ This is not the state wherein things are to be unexceptionably well. But we have cause, as

things are, to acknowledge and adore the wisdom and goodness of Providence, that the wickedness of the world hath not in so many thousand years quite confounded families and all human society long ago; but that as wise counsel did first settle the institution of those lesser societies, God hath from age to age renewed the impression of that part among others of the law of nature, by which men are prompted as by instinct to preserve them; besides the positive precept he hath given, setting out to each relative, the duty whereby order is to be preserved in them. And when we know his government extends so low, how gladly ought we to submit ourselves to it, and allow him to determine how long we should enjoy such relatives, as well as that there should be any such! For we know that they were appointed but for this temporary state, not for that wherein we are to be as the angels of God in heaven, where each one hath a subordinate self-sufficiency, and needs not the meet helps which the exigency of this state makes so useful. And therefore the reason as well as the authority of such precepts is most entirely to be subscribed to, that because 'the time is short, they that have wives be as though they had none; they that rejoice,' in having them, 'as if they rejoiced not; they that weep,' in losing them, 'as though they wept not.' So our affections will correspond to the objects

which are of the same make ; ‘ for the fashion of this world passeth away.’ And it were a gloomy thought to consider all as passing and vanishing, if we did not seriously believe that it vanishes to make way for another, that shall never vanish, and that shall shortly enter in its perfect glory, and fill up the whole stage. Scaffolds are taken down, when the eternal building is finished.”

I have also obtained a copy of a letter of condolence to a gentlewoman, upon the loss of a beloved daughter, which runs thus :—

“DEAR AND HONOURED MADAM,

“DID you think, two or three months ago, such a trial was so near? Such sad futurities God, in mercy to us, hides from us, that we may not afflict ourselves before he afflicts us ; and that when he intends we should suffer that particular affliction but once, namely, when it comes, we may not impose so hardly upon ourselves as to suffer it a thousand times over, before it comes. ‘ Sufficient for the day,’ &c. If he should have made us all prophets, in reference to all the events of our time, we should bring all the evils of every future day into every former day ; as if the evil of the day were not enough for the day.

“But though he gives us not certain predictions of such evils, lest he should torment us, he gives forewarnings, lest he should surprise us.

He hath told us we must all once die, and not when ; that life is a vapour ; that all flesh is grass ; that the beauty or glory of it is but as the flower of grass ; withering things ! He hath asserted his own dominion over lives, and over the spirits of all flesh as the God of them, to lodge and dislodge them, where and as he pleases. And who are we that we should grudge him that dominion ? or so much as wish we could have wrested that part of his empire out of his hands ? But when he afflicts, it is good to consider, what is it for ? It comes not out of the dust, though it may reduce us or ours thither. And if our utmost search cannot find out a particular cause, wherein we should take heed of being too indulgent and partial to ourselves, but should beg that what we know not he would teach us, yet we should, however, more earnestly endeavour to improve the affliction to the general end which we may be sure he aims at ; to withdraw our minds from this present world, and state of things ; to take heed of being peremptory in laying any designs that must be measured by time, and be subject to the uncertainties of it ; to determine nothing but with that reserve, ‘ If God will, we shall do this or that ; ’ (James iv. 15 ;) to have our minds engulfed and swallowed up, not of the stream of time, but of the ocean of eternity ; to be easily taken off from any purpose, the scene whereof must be laid on this earth, or

lower world ; to have our hearts more entirely and more strongly set upon God, so as to be able to say, ‘ Whom have I in heaven or earth besides thee ? ’ that the true end may be gain, though such a comfort be lost, and the particular offending cause cannot be found.

“ We may err, in thinking some such particular offence must be fastened upon. If it clearly can, it ought : if not, it is better forbear judging than misjudge. Possibly, chastening for a particular sin may not be in God’s design : it is not always. We may be sure it never is his principal design in taking away one relative from another. He made all things, principally, for himself : he made us but secondarily for one another. If his principal design in making such a creature was not to please me, his principal design in taking it away was not to displease or afflict me. He hath his own greater and higher end concerning his own creature, to glorify himself upon it, and by it, in a greater world than this. Many afflictions are for trial ; and that in such a case is an awful thought.

“ The jealous God hath me now under trial, how I can bear, how I can submit, how I can reverence his hand, how I can behave myself towards him when he afflicts ; whether I will venture to contend with him, or be sullen and morose towards him ; because he hath bereaved me of a child I delighted in, whether I better

loved him or my child. The trial may be manifold ; of my faith, of my patience, of my fear of him, of my love to him : and I may add, it may be intended for a trial of gratitude, and a mighty trial that is. We are required ‘in every thing to give thanks.’ And Job did it, and said, ‘Blessed be the name of the Lord!’ when with all his substance he took away all his children at once : ‘The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken.’ The injunction, ‘In every thing give thanks,’ signifies there is in every thing some matter of praise. I know not so immediately what was in this case : but if there was what I have heard, great indications of early piety ; if there were grounds to hope there was a work of regeneration wrought, there is infinitely more matter of thanksgiving than complaint. What had the life of a child been worth without this ? when better never to have been born ! It is a far greater thing if he have taken her as his own child, than if he had left her to you, only as yours. If you have faith to look into the unseen world, and behold her taken into the society of angels, and of the spirits of just men made perfect, how much more hath God done for her and you, than if he had left her to your care and provision in this wretched world ! We are told there is joy in heaven for the conversion of a sinner ; much more for the glorification of a convert ! That joy ought to swallow up in very great part your sor-

row. The good Lord frame your spirit suitably to these things, in whom I am

“Your truly respectful servant,
(very sensible of your case,)

“J. HOWE.

“LOVE-LANE, ALDERMANBURY, LONDON,

“*Sept. 29th, 1694.*”

The following are two letters to a new-married couple, who were persons of distinction, that were written on the same sheet of paper that was directed to the lady, with whom Mr. Howe had been long well acquainted :—

“MOST HONOURED SIR,

“I THANKFULLY acknowledge the favour of your welcome lines, which ought to be most entirely so, both upon the account of the author, and the matter of them. For though my opportunity for so desirable an acquaintance hath been but little as to the circumstance, it hath been much as to the substance of what I know of you, in ways that gave me greatest assurance, before I had the happiness of oral converse with you. Nor could any thing be more grateful to me than to read you from your own hand so related, and so well pleased (as I doubt not you will be daily more and more) with your relation, and the other accessory correlates with whom God hath cast your lot.

“ I believe you have much reason to bless God, (who orders all things to the best advantage to such as sincerely give themselves up to his conduct,) that he led you not into such a condition and state of life as he now at length hath brought you into, before you were well acquainted with the rules and duties of it, better than to need help from such a one as I. But among the many other precepts that concern that case, I dare adventure to recommend those of 1 Cor. vii. 29—31 : and pursuantly thereto, to offer to your thoughts, that this can be but a partial temporary felicity, and so far only so at all, as it is enjoyed only as mediate, and subservient to the full and final felicity which we are professedly seeking and waiting for: so far ought it to be, to oppose it, or let it be an obstruction thereto. Which is the nature of all good things that have only the goodness of the means, and not of the end, that their goodness is variable, and by misapplication may degenerate into a hurtful evil. Within the compass of such things is the truth of those words to be confined: *Nil prodest, quod non lædere possit idem*. It is beyond the measure of any created good to be universally so. That therefore which in its own place is a real good, applied to the particular purpose which it is capable of serving, out of that place, and being trusted, valued, and delighted in beyond the measure which God and the nature of the

thing have stated and set, may become a hurt to us.

“But there can be no greater or more endearing obligation to use any mercy for God, than an habitual fixed sense of its having been received from him, and a deeply radicated and often repeated agnition of his sovereign hand in ordering it to be our lot, with all the circumstances that have had any reference thereto. For what ingenuous heart can endure to oppose to him, or employ against him, the (apprehended) fruit of his own favour and kindness? a pledge of his paternal love and care so understood! And therefore the greater the gift is, (still considered under that strict notion,) the stronger is the inducement to honour and serve the Giver with it, and to enjoy according to his prescription what we enjoy not but by his vouchsafement.

“If to all this I should add a request to you to be exceeding kind to my most dear and honoured friend, it were the greatest impertinence in all the world. For she having such a temper to work upon, will make you so whether you will or no: and I might as well use arguments to persuade a fragrant flower to send forth its grateful odours, when a most benign orient sun is plying it with its cherishing morning beams. Such may you long be, both of you mutually (sun and flower) to each other, shining and flourishing with all the influence and under the

continual blessing of heaven. So shall you communicate a part of that joy which I most entirely wish you, to, Sir,

“Your very faithful, affectionate,
humble servant,
“J. HOWE.”

“WHATSOEVER leisure, most dear and honoured Madam, you may suppose me to have, I had little reason to suppose — and yourself to have much, from the reading of one another, to cast your eyes upon any thing I could write. But if, after this paper shall have lain one quarter of a year somewhere near your dressing-box, you find it not unseasonable to bestow a glance upon it, you will then at length find your disappointment. For it will tell you nothing but what you well knew, or might easily guess before; that having a constant most affectionate respect and honour for you, I cannot but be highly pleased, that you are so.

“And methinks it should not much surprise you, if I farther say, I would have you somewhat to alter, or make your exception to, your own rule, and not show the less kindness to — for that he is a married man. This will not be strange to you, if you remember some of your last winter lines.

“After this hath made you smile a little, as that of yours did me, then think that this novelty

in your condition will neither make nor allow you to smile always, though I hope it will add a great deal to the comfort and pleasantness of your days. And you may some time have occasion to think seriously together of the sense of those words, Luke xiv. 26. And always remember the subordination that all creature-love must be in, to that of the supreme Object of our love. How pleasant a thing will it be to have hearts united and consenting in the resolution of loving Him perpetually above all, to whom we owe our all, and who is altogether lovely! to consult and conspire together, how most to promote his interest, and improve in acquaintance with him, and conformity to him! This I believe your heart to be much formed to beforehand. The great care must be, that such resolutions do not gradually languish. We find many are apt by unobserved degrees to starve the good affections and inclinations, which they would abhor to assassinate by a sudden violence. I write securely, that such an intimation will, by so great a kindness as yours, be very well taken, from

“Your Ladyship’s most affectionate

humble servant,

“J. HOWE.”

The following letter was written upon occasion of the decease of both the Parents of the lady aforesaid, within about eight months of each other:—

"MOST HONOURED DEAR MADAM,

"WHEN I heard of your former great loss, I was confined by distemper to my bed; and I received information of the other when I was going a great journey to accompany my wife and daughter to the Bath, from whence they are not returned as yet, and I came home from my journeyings but last week. I have not in the mean time forgot your Ladyship's affliction, nor been without the apprehension how tender a sense your loss of two such parents must be accompanied with. Nor should I now mention it, did I not apprehend it may yet be reflected on to better purpose, than only to renew your sorrow. And that it may, I pray you, let it be remembered in the first place, with serious gratitude, (for we are required 'in every thing to give thanks,') that God continued to you the comfort of such relations so long, and for the many mercies he made them instrumental of to you in your tender years; that he vouchsafed the blessing of so excellent an education by their means; that you were thereby brought to know him and his Christ; that by their care you were so comfortably settled in the world, and in a station wherein he hath given you the opportunity of being so serviceable in building up a family for him, and of contributing to the planting and propagating religion in it; and that you see so much of a blessing from heaven upon the plantation.

“ Your part is that of a mother, and you have had a great example before your eyes. That may still live, and I doubt not will, in your mind and heart, while the person that gave it lives in a higher region, whither following such steps, you also will be translated in the fittest season.

“ I pray for the welfare, in all valuable respects, of —, your Ladyship, and all yours ; being, in great sincerity,

“ Your Ladyship’s most respectful,
and most faithful, humble servant,

“ JOHN HOWE.

“ LOVE-LANE, ALDERMANBURY, LONDON,

“ *Sept. 5th, 1695.*”

The following letter was to the same, upon the death of a most hopeful son :—

“ MOST WORTHILY HONOURED SIR ; WITH MY
DEAREST AND MOST HONOURED LADY,

“ It would be incomparably more grievous to me at this time to write to you, if I were under a necessity of writing nothing but what were mournful and sad. The same thing, if we turn it round, will be found to have a double aspect. That dispensation that represents you deprived of an earthly son speaks you the parents of a glorified child, more highly dignified

than it was possible he could have been on earth. This post brings you greater news than if it had informed you your son is created Emperor of Germany, or King of France or Spain. Let us speak and think of things as we believe, and profess to believe. Indeed, if our apprehensions of their state in the unseen world, who were true lovers of God, have nothing of solace and pleasure in them, it is mere useless empty profession they are all to be resolved into, and not faith.

“ My heart bleeds for you, and with you both ; but it can do you no good to tell you so. I believe your lovely son unfeignedly loved God : and then read the rest, 1 Cor. ii. 9, James i. 10—12. Of how great use might he have been in this world ! But are those glorious creatures above to whom he is now adjoined, unactive or unemployed ? And are not their employments more noble and sublime, according to the more enlarged capacity of their faculties, and the higher dignity of their state ? He was born to very considerable things as your heir : but he was begotten again to a more glorious inheritance, and the lively hope of it. (1 Peter i. 3.) They that were about him, before it was possible for me to see him, told me he was insensible, as he was before I heard of his illness : but at my coming to him, he knew me at first sight, and seemed to have the use of his understanding for

nothing but religion. He then spake not one misplaced word; said he doubted not God was his Father, and that his present affliction was from the hand of that Father, not of an enemy. He desired me to pray with him, and seemed understandingly and affectionately to concur. This was on Lord's day, and the next was the day of his glorious translation, near noon, before I could reach him a second time.

"Mr. C—— came to me presently after, to advise with me about disposal of the body, who could give no advice but in the general, to have it prepared for interment, in a way that might be decent, and not profusely expensive: not doubting but that there might be more particular direction from yourself before actual interment sent to Mr. C——, &c., who is willing to take the care upon him of seeing instructions fulfilled.

"The Lord support you both, and abundantly bless the rest of yours. I am, most honoured Sir and Madam,

"Your most affectionately sympathizing
servant in Christ our Lord,
"JOHN HOWE.

"ST. JOHN'S-STREET, LONDON,

"*Jan. 14th, 1698.*"

Though I have not spared for pains and application, yet I have been only able to pick up two

letters more, which were written by Mr. Howe to his dear and intimate friend Mr. Spilsbury, which are here subjoined :—

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ How hard a matter is it to keep up converse at this rate, when all that is pleasant and gainful in it lies on one side only ! I read thy lines with fruit and delight ; but have nothing to return of any value. And if a conscience is to be exercised in this sort of traffic, or indeed but a tolerable ingenuity, it cannot but occasion some regret, to barter away things of no worth for good commodities. If I tell thee I live, what doth that signify ? When life itself is so little worth, how despicable is the notice of it ! If I tell thee I love thee, thou knowest it before as to the *quod sit* ; but for the *quid sit*, no words can express it ; therefore the offer at it is vain. When, when shall we meet above ? That will make us pure good company, when dulness and sluggishness are shaken off and gone, and we shall be all spirit and life ! Yet we shall be doing our Lord some service here, or that he will accept as such, if we be sincere. Thou wilt be visited by a worthy person ere long, that is gone first to Kidderminster, and means, after he hath seen the son, to come to the father.

“ Cordial salutations from me and mine, to

thee and thine. Farewell in our dear Lord; and still remember,

“Thy entirely affectionate,

“JOHN HOWE.

“ST. JOHN’S-STREET,

“*Jan. 25th, 1698.*”

“MAY I once more hope to salute my dear, dear brother in this world! Whether I shall or shall not, I must leave to Him to whom greater and all things must be left. Thou mayest have taken thy flight before this reach thee; but the soul and spirit from whence it comes may in due time, through the infinite riches of freest grace, and the atoning blood of that sacrifice which once for all was offered up. We come to the general assembly, and ‘to the spirits of just men made perfect,’ but as we come to Jesus the mediator of the New Testament, and to the blood of sprinkling. By His own blood He is entered into the holy of holies, as the forerunner, and for us. Upon such terms may sinful unprofitable servants hope to enter, and be received under the notion of faithful, and as those that are graciously counted such, into the joy of their Lord. Thou art ready to enter, and wilt shortly be adoring before the throne. O with what complacency! receiving the end of thy faith, having fought the good fight of it! And must thy poor brethren, left behind, sigh and groan still, amidst

their drowsy hearers, and too drowsy fruitless labours? But I envy thee not; and those that are dearest and nearest to thee owe thee so much as to rejoice in thy joy, while they cannot as yet in their own. (John xiv. 28.) Thou art upon my heart, if God saw it good, to live and die with thee. This day se'nnight thy worthy brother B. and my brother F. dined with me, when thou wast most affectionately remembered; but art no day forgotten, by thy sincere lover, and of all thine; hoping and aiming (though faintly) to be thy follower,

“JOHN HOWE.

“*March 18th, 1698.*”

“IF there be joy in heaven for a converted sinner, shall there not for a glorified saint! and the leader and teacher of many such! some that are in glory, and others that shortly shall be! O the triumph at thy abundant entrance!”

Mr. Spilsbury, to whom this letter was written, died the 10th of July following.

THE LIFE

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LADY ELIZABETH HASTINGS.

BY THOMAS BARNARD, M.A.,

MASTER OF THE FREE-SCHOOL IN LEEDS.

THE LIFE
OF
LADY ELIZABETH HASTINGS.

CHAPTER I.

It is not to be wondered at that this excellent lady, who in her life drew so much after her the admiration of the world, should, since her death, stir up so many men, according to their respective talents and capacities, to celebrate her name ; for here the Divine, the poet, and the biographer, who all of them have been employed, or at least all, I believe, will be, will sooner find themselves at a loss in what order to dispose their materials, and with what lustre and beauty to set them off, than any scantiness, and deficiency in their subject, full, ample, arduous, and sublime, as it truly is : neither will they be in danger of running into rant and hyperbole, the rocks that writers of panegyric are so often broken upon, if so be they contain themselves within what ought to be said of the most

wise, most virtuous, most holy that, in these latter ages of degeneracy and defection, have stood most distinguished among the daughters of men.

Under much fearfulness of writing short of the dignity of my subject, and security that I cannot go beyond it, I have placed myself among the tributaries to her Ladyship's fame, being indeed unprovided of many qualifications others have shown, or may show hereafter; yet holding, perhaps, some opportunities and advantages that they were, or will be, removed from; though after all, and notwithstanding great opportunities and advantages, I justly expect to meet with the same fate, as did the masters of the pencil, none of whom could ever rightly take her Ladyship's face, the difficulty arising from their own inabilities, (as one of them, Sir Godfrey Kneller, frankly owned of himself,) and likewise arising from the nature of things; for as no hypocrisy can counterfeit, so no art can display, the light of the eyes, the majestic air, the radiant aspect ever issuing and streaming forth in brightness and lustre from the force and energy of inward piety.

The Right Honourable the late Lady Elizabeth Hastings was, by her mother, granddaughter of Sir John Lewis of Ledstone, in the county of York, Baronet, one moiety and more of whose very large estate came to her by inheritance; and had

for her father, Theophilus the seventh Earl of Huntingdon; and so was in lineal descent from a house and family shining in the pages of all our English history, and in every age, down to the present, productive of great and illustrious names; some for arms, some for policy, some for the arts of peace, some for the love of their country, some for learning, some for the right use and conduct of life, some for devotion and eminency in religion; all whose virtues, so far as they were proper to be cultivated by her sex, became united, and centred in her Ladyship: and though the dignity of her birth, and her many eminent progenitors, made large demands from her of every excellency, she paid them all back, and held forth the name of Hastings with increase of lustre to latest posterity; for never was any one more tender of the honour of her family, or in all things better supported it, or carried it to greater height.

There was a fine dawn and twilight of her future splendour, even in her most tender years: a sweetness of countenance, something in it great, and something lowly, an ingenuous temper, an aptness of understanding, a benevolent spirit, a flexibility of nature, a tractable will, a devout frame, and an awful sense of things pertaining to piety were observed of her in her first departures out of infancy; and the remembrance of them transmitted down to faithful relaters. No

wonder then that she made such vigorous shoots in whatsoever was great and good, having taken in the seeds of them into a soil exceedingly favourable by nature in the early beginnings of life, and providing for their culture and nourishment with dew from heaven, till almost sixty years of age.

It is reported of some rivers, which, plenteous in their rise and the first eruption of their waters, maintain part of their course with unseen uniformity under ground ; and afterwards appear again in full affluence and pride : something like this has attended this excellent lady : let mankind be content to know in general, that her footsteps slipped not in the lubricous parts of life ; that she followed not the world in its vain and trifling amusements, and things much worse than them ; but kept close to her baptismal vow, as she was progressively taught and understood it.

Though it must not be concealed that this fine gold is not without some alloy. A young lady, of less severity of manners than herself, invited her once to an entertainment over a romance ; and most dear did she pay for it : what evil tinctures she took from it I cannot tell ; but this I can, that the remembrance of it would now and then annoy her spirit down into declining life.

The little else, after diligent inquiry, that can be collected of her, to be inserted in this place is,

that she affected privacy and retirement; and was much in her closet in holy employments; that in some contrasts between the Earl her father, and Lord Hastings her brother, her conduct was such that she preserved the kindness and affection of both; that after the death of the former, and till the death of the latter, she would be doing great things with her fortune, when her abilities were not so great.

Her Ladyship's active life did most conspicuously commence soon after the death of her brother by the whole blood, the Right Honourable George Earl of Huntingdon, already mentioned under the title of Lord Hastings; when her emanative virtues shone out, by, what has often been in others the extinction of virtue, the accession of a large fortune.

Then it was that she became known, and was observed, to be somewhat more than a lady of great beauty and fine accomplishments; of affability and easy access; of condescension, and good-nature; of regular motions in religion; for in these things there is a commonness, and a mediocrity: but her aims were soon seen to be higher set, and no attainments in virtue, goodness, and piety would satisfy the strong bent of her spirit after these things, under every degree that could be got.

In order to this, besides the stock of wisdom and knowledge that she had laid in of herself,

and from the appointed Ministers she lived under, for the increase of it, she enjoined herself to the conversation of holy and humble men of heart, Archbishop Sharp, Mr. Nelson, Dr. Lucas, &c., the lights of the generation they lived in, and whose names and writings shed their fragrancy and odours far and wide, to the present day. A relation of her correspondence and conferences with these men, had there been memorials of them preserved, would have afforded matter of the most useful instruction. It is enough to set forth their value by what the writer of this has heard from her Ladyship, who would often felicitate herself upon them, much above twenty years after the latest of these saints had his admission into paradise.

How well she followed the footsteps of these great men ; what an obedient ear she carried to all their counsels ; nay, rather, how truly mindful she was of the footsteps and counsels of one infinitely greater than they, "God manifest in the flesh," comes next under consideration ; doing every thing that the rules of the Gospel require, and taking nothing, or using nothing, but what is within its allowances, and even not so many things as are.

And now must be opened the great scene at Ledstone-house, beautiful within doors, and without, where her Ladyship led the larger part of her life ; and how well, how unblamably, with

what order, with what exemplariness, with what demonstrations of love, with what diligence in every thing both great and small to make her calling and election sure, doth, for its extensive variety, admit of no just recital, nor, for its high pitch of exaltation, can be reached by any description to be made by me.

Her beauty, just height, and exact frame and composition excelled by few; her appearance, address, motion, and manner, perhaps scarce equalled by any; and above all, her shining endowments, virtues, and accomplishments, attracted the affections of several of the nobility; but she chose to continue in single life, upon one or both of these considerations, as it is thought, that, being sole mistress of her estate, she might see that a wise and religious use was made of it, or probably accounting that single life naturally led to higher perfection.

In this place of her residence, from first to last, almost every eye beheld her with wonder: the upper part of mankind by her friendship were some of them charmed into virtue, others found their virtues heightened and improved; the lower part were informed by her wisdom, and, if they wanted them, were cherished by her alms.

Such was the superiority of her understanding, that in matters of high moment hundreds would ask counsel of her, who themselves were very well qualified to give it to others; for she was

blessed with a right judgment in all things ; and could readily penetrate through perplexities, and unravel them, and mark out the safest and wisest conduct ; having ever for her ground the interests of truth, fidelity, honour, and religion ; and having for her first principles the glory of God, and her own innocency ; and, next to them, being, in all her participations, ever careful and solicitous, ever studious and active for the good of all men ; and holding all her capacities, all her powers, all her strength, (even at a time when she had little or no strength remaining,) and all her fortune, continually upon the stretch for the good of all men ; weeping with them that wept, rejoicing with them that did rejoice ; given to hospitality, distributing to the necessity of the saints, and to others that were less so ; having joy at the conversion of a sinner, or any small appearance of it : add to this, as will appear in the sequel, the whole that may be gathered from the Gospel of Christ.

This lady, many years ago, was in friendship, as is observed above, with Robert Nelson, Esq. ; and he, no flatterer of persons of quality,* in one of his letters, which yet remains, applied to her the following text : “ Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.” And as virtue, with proper care taken of it, is never at a stand, but climbing from height to height, so

* See his Address to Persons of Quality.

how greatly should we conceive of this lady's virtues, who cultivated them with all her care in maturer years, and through very many years after this letter was written! And for comparative excellencies placed in such a pitch, and by such a man as was Mr. Nelson, shall we, to establish the truth of his judgment, survey those that flourished among the daughters of Greece and Rome? What could the best of them make boast of, but what, in most things, she would cast behind her and despise? and what had any of them, in things of true value, but what she had in great superiority?

Did any of them live by the severest rules of order and decency? Was any of them actuated by great and generous passions? Was any of them remarkable for the exact discharge of relative duties? And this, I think, will go near to exhaust the characters of most of them, and is not one tenth part of what is due to this lady. Did any of them hold their lives in constant readiness to be laid down for the public good? (though instances of this, I believe, are rare and infrequent :) so did her Ladyship; and declared that she so held hers, at a time when, for any thing that she knew, and had great cause to apprehend, the words that she then spoke might probably be among her last.

But because the names of both sexes in the gentile world come down with notable defects, if weighed in the Christian scale, let us search

for the women that are recorded in the Scriptures, (the truest registers and most equal dispensers of honourable fame,) and who have a place there, for our examples, as having illustrated and enforced the great things in the Scriptures by their own lives.

Do we read of one who was of a sorrowful spirit? This lady, for the smallest matters, and such as in common estimation pass for nothing, would, as did the Psalmist, water her couch with her tears. Do we find another who walked in all the commandments of God blameless? another, all whose labour and industry were laid out and directed for the acquisition of the "one thing needful?" or others that succoured and relieved the saints in their wants and distresses? What defects in any of these graces and duties can, with any appearance of truth, justly be imputed to this lady?

Nor ought any invidious censure to be cast on me, that I have placed her in this great elevation; for all the saints of old, and of later times, did what they did, and became so distinguished upon earth, by the same universal and mighty principle, the grace of God. Far the greatest part of what is, or will be, related was known to myself; and many more things, which for prudential considerations will be kept back, as being, though in themselves excellent, in no wise fitting for some sort of readers. And I have moreover, to bear me

out, paid obedience to the apostolic rule, and have had most of what is written established by the mouths of two or three most competent witnesses: particularly I have had the general confirmation and authority of one, who was long in perfect intimacy with her Ladyship, and was a mindful observer and close follower of her ways, and wanted neither penetration to discern, nor understanding to judge, nor fidelity to declare what could truly, soberly, usefully, and discreetly be said upon the subject now before me.

And my meaning is, to remove any umbrage that may perhaps be taken at what is lately said before, clearly to preserve the right hand of fellowship to the stars highly differing from all other stars in glory, the dignified and unperishable names of those daughters whose praise is in the Bible; nor shall I seek to raise this lady any higher in the conceptions of men, than to confer upon her only the second honours, and to place her at their feet, where I am sure she would choose to place herself.

The great constituents of human nature, and in which lies its greatest dignity, are the understanding, will, and affections: the first is the repository of knowledge and wisdom, from whence we draw what directions to present to the second, and what employments to appoint for the third.

This lady, besides the wisdom which is called

secular, as having for its object the affairs of this life, was plenteously stocked with that wisdom which comes from above; and was so enriched with it, that whether she wrote or spoke, it was ever in consistency with it; the law of God was written in her heart; and whenever it is written there, it will not fail to shed forth its bright beams upwards upon the understanding. Hence it was that she had such a quick discerning of spirits, and upon any little conversation with men, though never so artfully veiled under the mask of hypocrisy, she could penetrate into what turn and frame they were of: hence it was that at first hearing or sight, she could detect the errors in books, even such as had for their authors men of name and character; nay, so great was her skill in these matters, that once in a tract, submitted to her judgment, she detected an error, and a great one too, deeply covered under a single word, which, the author of it has often declared, he believes would have escaped his own observation as long as he lived.

Her will, that mighty principle from which beings have so much their discrimination, and by the wrong use of which unhappy man first started aside from his Creator, and still continues in alienation from Him, was in full captivity to the law of the Gospel: she lived by it, and took all her measures from it, and ever held close conformity to its rules.

And because it is there declared, that through much tribulation we must (if at all) enter into the kingdom of heaven, the portion of this that was appointed for her, (which indeed, was comparatively great,) because it was the will of the Almighty, it was hers too; and when His arrows stuck fast in her, and His hand pressed her sore, in this gloomy part of life she maintained great cheerfulness, and preferred it in her whole judgment, and upon the most important consideration, to the days of her most flourishing health.

Her affections, those wings of the soul which agitate and keep it in motion, and whereby it is ever providing for its happiness or destruction, were set upon things above, panting and longing after the pleasures that are there, or engaging her in such employments as infallibly lead to them.

Be pleased to take a representation of one day's life, except those of the last twenty months, (which had many things in them peculiar, and some of them marvellous,) and by it make an estimate of all the rest; for though there was some variation in one day from another, (as how could it otherwise be?) yet it only held in the several degrees of excellency: and whoever walks by faith, as did this lady, and not by sight, that is, (as the words may well be understood,) takes his measures from divine not worldly wisdom, will find great inequalities in his life and conversation; sometimes less watchfulness

over himself; sometimes great abatements of his fervour; sometimes great hinderances from worldly engagements; sometimes great startings aside upon the violent assaults of temptations, and from sundry other hurtful causes and defects.

Her Ladyship's attendance and apparel were such as became her place and station: her body she knew was the temple of the Holy Ghost; and in what sanctification and honour she possessed it, must not be minutely described; her support of it by meat, and drink, and sleep, was ever bounded by necessity; the intervals that happened to the last were employed in pious meditations, or prudent deliberations what better measures to take in the duties of her Christian calling.

The word of God was a lantern to her feet, and a light unto her paths; her delight was in God's law, and every day was her study in it: she held her Bible to her heart, as a mirror to her face, to take in its quickening virtue, to find out all the weak parts of her spirit, all its spots and blemishes; for deformities there were none.

The other books that she used were wisely chosen, the doctrines and sentiments of which were sound and salutary; and these were much in her esteem, and often in her hands, to learn from them, to compare herself by them, and see what she had in common with the men of God, and if in any thing she came short of them; comparing

spiritual things with spiritual, and pondering with her own heart, and searching out her spirit, and weighing it, as it were, in a balance.

She used her pen much, sometimes for her own service, but more for the service of others ; and besides the papers that issued out, great numbers remained, but unhappily were destroyed by a severe sentence of her own : by them she would have been more fully and better known, and more excellent things might have been spoken of her, than by any other information that can be got.

She began every day with supplications, and prayers, and intercessions in private ; praying with all diligence and earnestness, with a recollected spirit and fervency, and, which is beyond all, from purity of heart : and in truth little intermission did she allow herself from this great duty, attending every where to the all-seeing eye of God over her, and having her soul winged, and carried up with holy pantings and aspirations towards him. So well did she know the mighty importance of prayer, its gracious acceptance with the Almighty, and its powerful avail to enlighten, relieve, strengthen, and purify the heart of man, that most plentiful provision did she make for the practice of it, as for herself so throughout her family, having all that were of it, save those that were under necessary detentions, drawn together four times a day, to attend, mostly, the holy ser-

vice of the Church, read for the most part by the established Minister, or some other, or one of the upper servants: and well was it for those servants whose lot fell within her walls; for there was every thing for them that might do them good,—a gentle, gracious, kind, considerate, bountiful, compassionate mistress, presiding over them with the dispositions of a parent, providing for the improvement of their minds, for the decency of their behaviour, the inoffensiveness of their manners, and using every art and stratagem to bring them into sound religion. And, indeed, as her great talents were every way fitted to turn many to righteousness, so were they as successful; and much, both near herself and farther off, did she enlarge the borders of God's kingdom.

Much she delighted in public worship, and constantly attended at it: and her behaviour there was according to the holy and wise rules appointed, solemn and grave, awful, and clear of pharisaical affectation; such as might give pleasure to the angels, who are said to be present in churches; and did, without doubt, very much quicken and animate the devotion of all the people.

Religion is a very extensive thing, and the commandment is exceeding broad; much intercourse must we have with God, and some must we have with our fellow-creatures; and we are commanded to honour all men, and relief is to be

given to the poor ; and as we are made for society, and cannot live without it, and are all of us in mutual dependencies, civil respect to our superiors and equals, where it is paid, ought to be returned.

This lady was ever mindful of every jot and tittle of the law ; knowing that He who is faithful in little is faithful also in that which is much ; and that which is in itself little, soon changes its nature and becomes great, from the spring and principle from which it proceeds,—the fear of incurring God's displeasure ; and I think there is very fine truth in the observation to be met with in some devotional writers, that any offences are far more hateful before God from those that are his friends, and are become partakers of his grace, than they are from his enemies, who live in an avowed neglect and contempt of him. In this spirit her wisdom would allow her care to descend even to her very cattle, because that is declared to be a property of mercy ; and she would have the skill and contrivance of every artificer used in her house, for the ease of her servants, and that they might sustain no grief and oppression under her : and she, besides providing for the order, harmony, and peace of her family, would have great elegance kept in her house and about it, that many of her poor neighbours might not fall into idleness and penury, for want of employment : and she would visit the higher .

part of the world, lest those that sought after her friendship should complain of her, or fall into uncharitableness to her, or censure her for being supercilious and proud; and safely might she do this, by the strong guard, the vigilance, and circumspection she carried about her, always with this intention, that herself might receive no harm, and others, if possible, some good.

Nor needs any one, with this care, decline the use of this liberty; for no relaxations and amusements, no sweetnesss and refreshments in life, becoming rational creatures, (if so be they do not absorb too much of our time,) are, in any wise, enemies to religion, but rather uphold and promote it; and if they do give some interruption to our spiritual exercises, they make the matter up by giving us a new edge and eagerness at our next return to them; for whether we are in correspondence with the world, or live in separation from it, we may find safety; and either way the yoke (if so be it is the whole yoke) is easy, and the burden is light.

CHAPTER II.

A SKILFUL display of her Ladyship's art and manner in company would be to place her in one

of her most amiable lights: for her talents for conversation were most shining and great, and more in truth than she would allow herself to use. Accordingly she would restrain a brisk and lively imagination, and demonstrate a deep and sound understanding; and to flourishes of wit and humour, would prefer the much better ornament of courtesy and complaisance. Her great care was, that those she conversed with should discern the honour and esteem she bore towards them; to provide that her carriage was such that no one should be oppressed, or made uneasy, at the superiority of her condition; to see that herself failed not in any part of right decorum, that none might think themselves neglected or overlooked by her; to hear and speak according to what occurred, and was before her; watching all the while with penetration and eagerness for a happy transition of the discourse upon religion; and when that was once gained, then was she in true enjoyment of spirit, and placed in her natural element: and indeed in all her intercourses she was never in right ease, unless religion had some place in conversation, and thought the spirit of it was dead, in the majority of the company at least, if utter neglect and silence was had of it.

At her table, watching that she might not be taken in any of its snares, her countenance was open and serene; her speech soft and musical;

her language polite and seasoned with salt, treating of things useful and weighty, and bringing out of her rich treasures of wisdom things new and old: here she displayed all the elegancies of good breeding, addressing herself to all with great meekness and condescension; and adapting herself to their respective talents and capacities, the rays of her benevolence darted from her own upon every face, and the sweetness of her company was relished in every heart.

As her house and table were generally adorned by some parts of her family, so she made them all the parts of herself, and embraced all her relations, according as they stood in the several degrees of blood, with true and tender affection: and she would moreover inquire after and seek out any of the withering and drooping branches of her family, and draw them out of their obscurity, and place them in a new light and a better situation; directing her aim, by kindnesses of this nature, to bring them into the lucid path of virtue and religion: and she would do honour to the names and memories of remote ancestors, and inform herself of their public benefactions, and make them of more extensive use and service from her own pious munificence.

This was one part of her life, and conducted upon the motives and considerations as described; but the care of all her cares was the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, the needy, and him

that hath no helper, the lame, the halt, and the blind: and in this place what shall I say? or how can I expect to be believed? The bent of her spirit ever lay towards these: she had a share in all their sufferings; she would often converse with them, and inquire into their history, with as much poverty of spirit as they were in of outward condition; she would study their particular cases, and put them in the way of better welfare; she would visit them in sickness, and bear the expenses of it; some of these were ever in her court, or in her house, and frequently in great numbers; and it was no neglect of hers, if any one went away unrelieved with meat, physic, raiment, or money; and many times a single person would receive all four; many of these that lived remote had yearly allowances, and large sums frequently issued out into distant parts of the kingdom.

Her still larger applications were fixed pensions upon reduced families, exhibitions to scholars in the Universities, the maintenance of her own charity-school, her contributions to others, disbursements to the religious societies for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge at home, for the erection, decoration, and augmentation of churches: add, (as not being very dissimilar to these,) free and frequent remission of debts, in cases of straitness or insolvency; and flowing

plenty and all becoming magnificence ever upheld in the house, and mighty acts of generosity to relations, friends, and to those that were neither. This last virtue has indeed been called in question; how justly may be better known by this true and faithful, though most imperfect representation. Her Ladyship's declared and most admirable rule, which she made her own fixed and established measure, was, to give the first place to justice, the second to charity, and the third to generosity. I would, as she did, lay particular stress and distinction upon the first, or full restitution for all trespasses committed against it, without which charity, or almsgiving, is most grievously tarnished, and is, at the best, but a sinister, crooked, and uncertain way of obtaining any acceptance with God. Her own trespasses against this great virtue she purged herself from, by appointing the payment of a hundred pounds to the King's Majesty; for it was against him only that, through ignorance or inadvertency, she could possibly be involved in any injustice. The second, speaking for itself, as with the sound of a trumpet, needs no low echo that I can give it. The third may be illustrated by instances innumerable: £500 a year given to one relation; £3,000 in money to another; three hundred guineas, all the money that at the time was within her reach, and large promises of more, to a young lady, who had very much im-

paired her fortune by engaging in the South Sea scheme, &c.

If it be asked how all this was done out of an estate short of £3,000 a year, - a fine part of which yet resteth in her family, I can no more satisfy this question by any answer that I can give, than I am able to find out the longitude. She, that had so firm a dependence upon God, such trust in his promises, such faith in his word, and the verification of every thing in it, would try the generous high-set way of growing rich, by giving away; of increasing, by scattering. Her own virtues too must, without doubt, have had some stroke in it; for she was a great mistress of all the parts of economy, and her own consumption was comparatively nothing: for they that walk in the Spirit as she did, die progressively to every vanity, and take coldness, and indifferency at the things that are without them, and do not mind the things pertaining to the flesh, none of its many hurtful gratifications; but chastise it, and keep it under, as knowing it to be the seat and repository of their most dangerous and deadly enemies.

But I hasten to my labour, where she chiefly placed hers, she in attaining, and I in bringing to open view, her inward virtues.

This lady knew that the great scene of religion lies within, and in the right government of the heart, and is concisely called and defined,

“the hidden man of the heart.” Accordingly her eye was ever upon her heart, to see that all its principles were cleansed from evil mixtures, had no taint from self-love, were not sullied with vain glory ; to observe the tendency of all its motions, which way the bias of it was set, how its struggles weakened towards sinful excursions ; and she would continually nourish and meliorate her heart, by acts of faith in the blood of her Redeemer, by rating her own righteousness at nothing, by marking well, and daily committing to writing, all her little slips, and deeply lamenting them with tears of repentance, descending to lusory imaginations, even those that happened in her sleep, which was scarce, I think, ever recorded of any saint before ; and for the expiation of slips, and things less than they, (beside prostrations, and other humiliations and austerities,) it is hard to believe that Mary Magdalene herself, in the effusion of tears, was more abundant ; keeping moreover her spirit braced and in a recollected state, and herself in continual readiness to lie down in death, even in the midst of life and in firm health.

Such was the diligence and circumspection this lady used in the Christian calling ; in this practice of piety did she walk humbly with her God ; by this conversation in heaven and upon earth, secured she the favour of God and man, till near the conclusion of her pilgrimage was at

hand, when, behold! though she had laid up for herself such ample treasure in heaven, and had attained such redintegration of nature, and though she was now in the declension of life, and her distemper so oppressive as might very safely have admitted of some little relaxation, yet not attending at all to the good speed she had hitherto maintained in her Christian race, this last stage of it she would run with swiftness and rapidity. Accordingly she prayed with that frequency and ardour, gave alms with that diffusive affluence, exhorted with that affectionate vehemence, as if she had never done a single act of any of these in all her life before, and had only turned herself to the ways of God and to vigorous repentance when the terrors of death began to stand in array against her: being stimulated to all this, and to abound more and more, from her own peculiar hunger and thirst after righteousness; that most happy state of soul which she was ever so eminently blessed with, and which nothing could satisfy or quench.

And when through a series of almost thirty years she had in this great manner let her light shine before men, and stood the bright example of every virtue, when the celebrity of her name was extended from sea to sea, she gave a clear demonstration on how right a basis every thing stood, and what principles she was governed by, in that she could never endure to hear one word

in her own praise ; and when all the finest pens in the kingdom were invited, about six years ago, to display her worth, (which she might innocently have given way to, and might thereby have ever held down men of such meanness and obscurity as I am, from any further impotent attempts,) the design miscarried, and became abortive, purely by her own opposition.

And now, my countrymen ! (many of whom I have long served in an useful capacity, and for every one of whom I pray day and night, in the same manner as I do for my own soul,) all ye inhabitants of this happy island ! happy for its government and laws, for its situation, and fertility of its soil ; for the clemency of seasons ; and, above all, for the pure word of God shedding abroad its light in all its borders ; now that I have set before you scarce one half of the draught of this living temple of the most high God, and though under many weaknesses, yet with inviolable truth, (for had her Ladyship's memory, for its better embellishment, needed a lie, I should have had none for her service,) consider, I beseech you, where, or in what, you can find anything amiss ; what mistakes and delusions this lady lived under ; or what wrong judgment she made of the nature and obligations of our common Christianity. Common, I call it ; for it is one and the same thing to every man, to every woman, wherever it is known ; and to

the essential and life-giving parts of it, is every man, every woman, tied down at their utmost peril. And if it is asked, what these are, the answer is, that they cannot here, indeed, be well drawn out in particulars; but two very great ones, and to which the rest, I believe, are somehow or other reducible, are as follows: a firm faith in, and dependence upon, Christ; and, under the help and power of his Spirit, a mighty labour to perfect the holiness that he hath taught us.

All indeed have not this great lady's possibilities, and cannot give in alms sevenfold more than they expend upon themselves: but scarce any one is there, but may give a cup of cold water; and great things are promised even to that, if it is done in a right manner, and with a devout spirit. Again, all have not near the same disengagements and leisure that this lady had; nor have, in common with her, the same command of their time; and therefore cannot maintain so close an attendance upon spiritual exercises, as is now reported of her: yet nevertheless almost all may, at all times, and in all places, preserve some sort of heavenly-mindedness, and may strive against sin, and keep themselves unspotted from the world, may cease to do evil, and learn to do well; and all, of either sex, may lock up their senses against temptations and in good measure quench the fiery darts

that come along with them, even when they are surrounded and assaulted by them on all sides ; and if of themselves they are not (as most certainly they are not) sufficient for these things, yet the grace of God is, if they turn to it, and seek it earnestly, and follow its holy motions, and put themselves under its government ; and all may obtain the grace of God, for it is common to all, and far more diffusive than the light of the sun, and moves upon every human spirit, upon every other spirit that has not shamefully abused it, or trodden it under foot, after having tasted of it.

This lady sought not her salvation by the force of her alms, highly affluent as they were ; for that she well knew was not the charity of the Gospel, not the charity that covers a multitude of sins, but expressly contradistinguished from it ; (1 Cor. xiii. 3 ;) not the charity that St. Paul so divinely describes there, which is Christian life in consummation, and holds in it every virtue, and is the ocean that receives all their tributary streams.

Almsgiving (one very fine branch indeed of this charity) is a good thing, and public worship is likewise a good thing, and all the ordinances of religion are salutary and good ; but they must be done and used with firm purposes of, and vigorous endeavours after, sanctification of heart ; otherwise, they are of no furtherance to us ; so

far from it, that on the contrary, in some circumstances, it may perhaps be said of them all, what our Church has, upon divine and infallible authority, said of one of them, that they do nothing else but increase our damnation.

This lady lived in the communion of the Church of England, and never started from it, to her dying day.

She had the tenderest mind and conscience that ever was known; and she would deeply mourn, as for all the other sins of men, so for any attempts made to corrupt and overthrow the mysteries, the faith, any one of the essentials, which, under clear authority of Scripture, are taught by our Church; and would take as great an alarm at an infidel book, and be as solicitous to keep it at remote distance, as if the plague itself had been approaching her own dwelling.

These things might be prosecuted to much further length, and drawn out into manifold particulars; but I refrain my spirit out of reverence and regard to, and in imitation of, the example of this meekest of women; who, in the days of her illustrious pilgrimage, would never allow herself to stir and inflame the passions of men, not for any provocations, any maltreatment, any flagrant misbehaviour in others that in any wise concerned herself; all which only served to illustrate her active and passive virtues, how well she had learned to overcome evil with good, to suffer

long and be kind, to bear all things, and endure all things. Nay, and which I think is something further, if ever by speech, carriage, or otherwise, she only suspected that she had disturbed the spirits of any, she had no peace with herself till she had taken care for the recovery of theirs, and would often ask the forgiveness of others, much her inferiors, who were insensible and ignorant for what reason.

In like manner would I, if I could, behave towards all men, with the charity that becomes me, and is due to all men; firmly believing that God has chosen those whom he will accept in every nation under heaven; and therefore I leave all of every denomination to the infinite mercies of that God who will undoubtedly allow for the invincible ignorance or unavoidable errors of his creatures; recommending to all, in the words of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, the diligent cultivation of the same imperial virtue, which in this lady so triumphantly reigned in its whole extent, as myself from frequent conversation with her was most fully convinced. "Above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness;" and whosoever is clothed with this royal robe of salvation in its full extent, as has been said before, though in the eyes of men, and even in his own, he may be wrong in many things, yet in the eyes of God (who though he seeth all things, yet doth he overlook

many) will be right, and dear, and meet for final acceptance.

CHAPTER III.

HER Ladyship in early life got a contusion upon her right breast, which left behind it a small inward tumour, attended with little or no disturbance, and for that cause probably not much heeded. This continued for many years without any sensible increase, when about twenty months before her death it gave her cause of complaint; upon which, application was made to a reverend gentleman, highly eminent for his skill in surgery, who, upon sight and examination, was clear in his judgment that there was absolute necessity that the affected part should be separated from the body.

What her Ladyship's first impressions were upon hearing of this, I will not undertake to relate; perhaps nature might flinch at first: but a neighbouring Clergyman, who had a correspondence with one in the family, being made acquainted by his friend what afflicting sorrow the family was in, and his friend in particular, without being told from what cause, he, imagining that it was no common matter, but something of a very sinking nature, and something too

whereof her Ladyship had a very large part, immediately wrote back, as suitably as he could, upon no other grounds than his own conjecture ; and happily in his letter touched upon the necessity of sufferings, setting forth briefly those that Christ endured in the flesh ; that he will bring all his followers into likeness of and conformity to himself in all things ; that sufferings were the way to his perfection, and must be to ours ; and are the expressly declared condition of our being glorified with him ; the truest marks and characteristics of our adoption ; the most sovereign medicines that come from heaven for all our latent sickness.

Her Ladyship beforehand saw into the truth of all this, (as she had well explored and digested every other truth in the whole system of our religion,) and would often express some discontent, that her own sufferings, in the account that she made of them, should be little or none : and it is the sense of one who had a station under her, and not unskilled in this kind of knowledge, that the mighty torrent of them, which broke in upon her at the last, was, for this end among others, to solace her spirit, and to strengthen her assurance, that she had every mark and token of her favour and acceptance with God.

The letter, as above, was shown to her Ladyship ; who, with more emotion than was usual to her, said, she would not wish to be out of her

present situation for all the world, nor exchange it for any other at any price: and with great meekness and tranquillity, without any change in her temper, with cheerfulness scarce to be believed, in perfect serenity and freedom, continued her every-day life till the time appointed for the operation, sitting loose and indifferent for life or death, as appears from the following prayer, which I composed for her service upon that occasion, and have, I think, not unsuitably inserted here:—

“O my God! again I humble myself before thy footstool, in deep and hearty acknowledgments, that thou art righteous in all thy ways, and holy in all thy works; and that thou of very faithfulness hast caused me to be troubled.

“I bless and praise thee for all thy mercies, which from my youth up, until now, have embraced me on every side.

“And shall I receive all this abundant good from thee, and shall I not receive some evil? Yes, O my God! I will not only receive it, but bless and praise thee for calling me to this trial of my patience and submission to thy blessed will; for this gracious pledge and token of thy love; for this thy wholesome medicine for the sickness, decays, and pollutions of my spirit; and, above all, that thou art pleased more and more to transform me into the likeness of thy

blessed Son, who was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.

“O! do thou for his sake, for the sake of thy Beloved and mine, in whom thou hast wrought for us most plenteous redemption, do thou, who alone art able, bring me out of this furnace of affliction, and grant that, either for life or death, according as thy good pleasure shall appoint for me, I may come out of it as gold purified seven times in the fire.

“Be thou my strength, and my support, and of all those that shall be about me in the hour when we shall stand in greatest need of thy presence; and drive from me, and from them, both then and for ever, every fear that is injurious to the fear of offending thee.

“And when anguish shall come upon me, and the iron shall enter into my soul, O! then imprint upon my spirit the blessed hands and the feet that were pierced for me; and for thy tender mercy's sake, sweeten my bitter cup with some sense and feeling of the inconceivable sufferings of my dear Redeemer; that I may, even then, so far as thou shalt enable me, behold and see, that for my sake, and for the sake of sinful man, no sorrow was ever like his sorrow.

“And if this sickness shall be unto death, then let me say, if not with the resignation that he did, yet with all the resignation that I can, ‘Not my will, but thine be done.’

“That so, receiving the just punishment due to my sins, and thy whole wrath against them in this life, the immortal spirit which thou hast given me, and which, by the adorable methods of thy grace and providence, thou hast fitted up for thy service, and made so strong for thy own self, may attain, what I pant and long and am athirst for, even the enjoyment of thee for ever and ever, in and through Jesus Christ our Lord.

“And as I pray for myself, so do thou open and enlarge my heart, and continue to me the same holy desires for all mankind, in the most acceptable words of thy blessed Son, ‘Our Father,’ &c.”

Great skill and wisdom were used in all things ; and every bad event was guarded against ; and her hands were held by men of strength : her hands might have been held by a spider’s thread ; no reluctancy did she show, no struggle, or contention, or even any complaint did she make : only indeed towards the end of this baptism in the wilderness and the sea, she drew such a sigh, as any compassionate reader may do to be told this : though since this was written, (and upon good authority, as I thought,) even this small expression of anguish has been denied by a Clergyman of great worth, who assisted at the operation, and was one of the number that held her Ladyship’s hands ; and from his words,

which are grave and judicious, one would think that her flesh was quite insensible, as her spirit was quite impenetrable.

And whence came all this? that a woman should, in so astonishing a manner, endure all this. And who, among the mighty pretenders to fortitude, could have so endured it? save her, and such as her, who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and are endued with the strength, virtue, and power resulting from the true spirit of his religion; which all subsist, and would, if sought after, do as much for human nature, and beget in it the same firmness and intrepidity, as it is known to have done in this great instance, and in many others in ancient and more recent times.

The following night was not indeed a night of much sleep, but of truly celestial rest; a night of thanksgiving to her God, for the visible demonstration of his power in her, and about her; for his stretched-out arm in her deliverance; for the bountiful provision he had made for all the occasions of her body and soul; for every blessing, holding all the powers of her spirit in tune-ful employment, and exercising the same in acts of love, of gratitude, and adoration. And some doubt may be made, whether the Israelites, with their heavenly-commissioned Captain at the head of them, performed more acceptable melody to their almighty Deliverer, after their escape from

Pharaoh and his armies at the Red Sea, than did this lady, at this time, under distresses, one would think, far superior to what theirs had been. Her Ladyship, sooner than was expected, got upon her feet, and, with every improvement that could be made, into the same tenor of life that had long subsisted before; in some variety of employments indeed, but all of them rightly calculated for the glory of God, or the good of mankind.

She saw what a fine and serviceable handmaid learning was to religion, and upon that account was a great lover of it; and indeed was far from being without learning herself: for she could compose well, and judge well, and could mark out the beauties, excellencies, errors, and defects in authors, and whether they wrote in taste, or out of taste; and in practical divinity, and things pertaining to the direction of conscience, she rarely ever made an erroneous determination.

Impressed with these sentiments, and possessed of these talents, she thought provision made for the better estate of learning, as the same is begun and carried on in schools, and further propagated and finished in Universities, was a right exercise for her meditations and care, and a proper object for her munificent donations, which were indeed proportioned to the magnificence of her spirit.

In the weakly condition she must now be in,

her employment very much was, to provide that all her settlements might be secured from prostitution, and fenced about against spoil and depredation; and that all her holy, wise, and good purposes might be attended with execution and effect: to this end, with unwearied industry she digested, improved, enlarged, and altered several respective schemes, rules, orders, and provisions, and very much from her own dexterity and wisdom.

But this care, this work and labour of love, to which she dedicated a large share of her estate, and for many years a large stock of her health; (for she shortened her days, as it was thought, not by acquiring an estate, as do some, not by riotous living, as do many, but by a scarce ever-heard-of way, by too great application and solicitude, how she might best give her estate away;) this care and labour, I say, with every other, was shortly to be exchanged for tranquillity and rest. The distemper, only repressed for a time, rose up with new malignity, to much the greater affliction of thousands in the world, than of her that bore it; for she had now been for some time in the school of affliction, and exercised with its sharpest discipline, and found its salutary effects: and as she had lost one part of her body without being shaken or hurt, so she trusted in God, that (if there was need, as in reality there was expectation) she might with safety

lose another ; and she knew that her own sufferings were infinitely short of the thorns and nails that her Saviour endured for her upon the cross ; and there was great probability the last draught of her cup might not be so bitter as was the first. Under these sentiments and meditations, her hope was full of immortality ; and the eternal weight of glory, now in full view, made all her afflictions light ; her face was not to be turned from it, though her condition would not allow her for several months, for any ease to be obtained, to turn herself in bed ; and therefore she would hold to her long-established purposes, and strive to enter in at the strait gate, and excel every thing that was past, as much as she could, and not look back at those things that were behind, but press forward to those things that were before ; and though she had little stomach to eat, she would find strength to pray ; and, as the relater of this verily believes, though he does not precisely know, she suffered not any one hour of the day to pass without prayer. But every other duty must be attended to as well as this ; and doing good to the souls of others was ever the same with her as doing good to her own ; and because her household mourned, and refused comfort, (some of them perhaps having less acquiescence in God's will than she had,) therefore she laughed, that they might cease to weep ; and, for a pattern for them when placed in like cir-

cumstances with hers, she made no complaints among them which a mortal creature could suppress ; she accepted all their kindness and services with gentlest acknowledgments, passing by with inobservance any errors, mistakes, neglects, or inadvertencies that any of them might fall into.

But her cares, her kindness, her solicitude, had ever a wider scope and extent than her own pale.

In this near and certain approach of death, her cherishing warmth, like the sun's, though it might be most felt by those in proximity, reached those at greater distance : witness the mighty number of letters that she wrote, and dictated to others when she became unable to write, full of sweet counsel, having for their argument the blessedness of piety, and pressing home the necessity of it, and setting forth its true nature ; witness the great conflux to her house of persons of all conditions, to behold the living power of religion, in her, and to be partakers of, and benefited by, her wisdom ; whom she would instruct herself, or engage those who had any talents that way, having them in great numbers about her, and continuing in heavenly conferences and conversation with them, as long as she had strength to speak, and preserving her attention to others when her strength was gone.

What fruit was produced from all this, is not

possible to be described: many may date their initiation into spiritual, at or near the extinction of her natural, life; some of whom are fairly set, if they live, to be her rivals in true worth and high distinction. At other seasons seeking out for, and drawing to her, the company of holy people, refreshing and warming her spirit at the sight of them, (as her great delight was ever in them, and in such as excelled in virtue,) she and they mutually receiving and giving light, heat, comfort, and strength from the words of the wise, and their dark sayings; she and they, at the same time, having their spirits mingled, and holding mystical communion, with all the saints upon earth or in heaven; her alms all along in the same series of days, under the great and necessary expenses upon herself, under every other increase of expense, driving on, and carried with such a like impetuous succession as are the waves of a swelling river: "Where," would she often say to those about her, "is there a poor member of Christ, whom I can comfort and refresh?" Silver and gold being given to many, who very rarely ever saw so much they could call their own; and within this time forty guineas issued in one sum for the enlargement of a gentleman who was a prisoner for debt, at Rothwell; though she had never seen him, or heard anything of him, abating some few words of his case, and in his favour, in all her life before.

Her Ladyship was for several months separated from public worship ; which, as has been observed already, she was a great lover of, and held her obligations to it sacred and inviolable ; and could not excuse herself from it, for having had a bad night, or taken a little cold ; or because the roads were deep, and there was some danger that the coach should be overturned ; but she ever continued to go, under great want of sleep, and great cold taken, and afflictions worse than that, and after the coach had been overturned, and after part of her body was mouldering in the church-yard : and how must she do now that there was no possibility that she should go to church ? The only way was, as far as she could, to bring the church to herself : accordingly she had in this season the established service, as aforetime, daily read, and the holy sacrament administered to her every Sunday.

Her Ladyship was now in very tottering life, with less pain indeed, or at least less complaint, than ever could be thought of or rationally hoped for. What her own prayers, or the prayers of all saints that knew her or heard of her, might do for her, lies in unfathomable depth : the skill of the reverend gentleman, already spoken of, cannot be praised as it deserves ; who, under God, kept her pains moderate, and gave her relaxation and relief under every distress. But her firmest support was her faith in Christ ;

which fifty years ago being only as a grain of mustard-seed, had now grown up into a spreading tree, and she could refresh herself under the shadow of it. By the strength of it she had removed mountains, and plucked up sycamores, and was become invincible and more than conqueror. By the virtue of faith, she had overcome death and taken out its sting, and neither the sight of death, nor the rigour of the law, could cast her into dismay. She had walked by the rule that the law set her; and though she could not attain to strict conformity to its tallest heights, yet her Redeemer did, and His death and intercession secured her justification, and He spoke peace to her spirit, and strengthened her with assurance, that, as He had long brought her up in his nurture and admonition, and was now putting his last hand for the finishing his own work, and to be himself formed in her, so the gates of his kingdom were ready to be opened for her entrance into his rest.

But she knew she must abide his pleasure, and did desire nothing but it; though it must not be omitted, that her Ladyship had a willingness, consistent enough with her full resignation to the will of God, to travel still in the wilderness, till such times as her durable charities became established by law. Dr. Johnson knew this, and directed all his skill to effect this; and, behold! so indulgent was the Almighty to his handmaid,

under this her sharp chastisement, so mindful of the services of men, whose offices and employments are held under him, and are ministerial in the ways of His providence, that she survived the legal and necessary time by seven or eight days.

This is a last sickness, will my favourable reader say, worthy to be imitated, and mentioned with honour, and standing fair for glory and immortality ; not a turning to God in a fright, from the reproaches and clamours of a conscience over-set and flooded with the inundation of guilt ; not a seeking to Him in mere supineness and formality, in the languid use of his appointed means and ministrations, which, for any avail that they have of themselves, had much better be let alone.

A life so well-ordered, of such good report, so full of honour, spun with so equal and fine a thread, so uniformly amiable and great in all its parts, could not expire,—a spring so pure, so defecate, so much partaking of the divine nature, could not pass into the regions of eternity,—without something marvellous attending the event : and what that was, though placed far above the reach and power of words, will be attempted in a following relation, because it is so invincible a confirmation of the whole that I have said, and is, as I account it, an argument for the truth of our religion submitted to our very senses.

Her Ladyship's life, as was observed before, was now in its last vibrations ; but her lamp, and her life, must be extinguished together, and she must occupy till her Lord comes. Accordingly she convened her household, (for the sake of those especially, who, by reason of her long sickness, had been the seldomer in her presence,) to strengthen and enforce every thing that she had done, or shown them before, by her dying counsels ; and would have extended this amazing care to the whole village, but was restrained by the Physician ; and being mindful at the same time of decency and order, and to have the last offices of the Church ministered to her in the most solemn and regular manner, she cast aside the services of two (if not more) very excellent men then in the house, and sent for the Vicar of the parish, whom she had held in great honour for twenty years.

“The path of the just is as the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.” (Prov. iv. 18.)

“The truly religious, whose evidences for heaven are clear, rational, and well-grounded, have a tide of joy springing up in their minds beyond expression ; something more moving and satisfactory than any one can imagine but they that perceive it ; when they are just entering upon the promised land, the splendour of the eternal day dawns upon them, and shines through the

breaches of their shattered bodies, and raises in the inward man such earnestness of happiness, such foretastes of joy, as enable them to pass through the valley of death in peace and triumph." *

And now, behold! all the congregation was cast into astonishment; the parish Minister and they could not preserve the posture they were in; but imagined they should see the bright messengers that were dispatched to take charge of this great favourite of heaven, whose spirit had now pierced through the veil of her flesh, and, in some such manner as did St. Stephen, saw the heavens open, and Jesus sitting at the right hand of God: her Ladyship was now in transports, quite melted down with impressions of glory, "her eyes," though languishing under years and sickness, "were as bright as diamonds," the very words of one that beheld them, and she broke out with a raised accent, into these words, or better: "Bless me, Lord! what is it that I see? O! the greatness of the glory that is revealed in me, that is before me!" And some time after she had so said, she fell asleep.

The principal and distinguishing lines and features of her character, so far as I am able to strike them out, are these: she was a lady of exactest breeding; of fine intellectual endowments; filled with divine wisdom; renewed in the spirit of her mind; fired with the love of her

* Spiritual Crisis, page 44.

Creator ; a friend to all the world ; mortified in soul and body, and to every thing that is earthly ; and little lower than the angels.

A CODICIL TO BE ADDED TO THE WILL OF ME, ELIZABETH HASTINGS, CONTAINING THE DEVISE OF MY MANOR OF WHELDALE TO THE PROVOST AND SCHOLARS AT QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD, FOR THE USES HEREIN MENTIONED.

FIRST, I give and devise all my manors, lands, and hereditaments in Wheldale, otherwise called Queldale, in the West-Riding of the county of York, with all the quit-rents or chief rents and royalties belonging to the same, to the Provost and scholars of Queen's College in the University of Oxford, for ever : subject nevertheless, to a term of ninety and nine years determinable upon the lives of one or more annuitants, as the case shall be, and as is more fully explained in a former codicil, for charging annuities for lives, pursuant to a power reserved by my will :

AND to the end that the Provost may have true and speedy information of the state of the annuitants, the Bailiff for the time being, who collects the rents of the said premises, shall at the end of every year send a list of the names of the

annuitants then alive to the Provost of the said College, signed by the said Bailiff, and one or more of the Trustees, as also upon the death of the last annuitant, as soon as he receives information of it, immediately send notice thereof to the said Provost, in writing signed also by himself and one or more of the Trustees :

AND I will that after the expiration of the said term of ninety and nine years, determinable as aforesaid, one hundred and forty pounds out of the clear rents and profits of the same premises shall from time to time be applied for exhibitions, towards the maintenance of five poor scholars of the said College, to be nominated and elected in manner hereinafter directed, each of which poor scholars shall be entitled to a yearly payment of twenty-eight pounds, but shall receive for the four first years (to be computed from the Pentecost preceding the election) only twenty pounds each year, by quarterly or half-yearly payments, my will being that the remaining eight pounds out of each sum of twenty-eight pounds be laid up and deposited yearly in the College-chest, and that out of this deposited money twenty pounds shall be paid at the middle of the fifth year, and twenty pounds more at the end of the said year, (over and above the first mentioned yearly payments,) to each of the said exhibitioners that shall have taken their Bachelor of Arts' degree, and shall strictly and

religiously conform to the directions, limitations, and conditions hereinafter given, made, or expressed :

AND in regard to the qualifications, nomination, and election of poor scholars who shall be entitled to such exhibitions, my will is, that eight of the principal schools in the county of York, namely, those of Leeds, Wakefield, Bradford, Beverley, Skipton, Sedborough, Ripon, and Sherbourne, and two more in the county of Westmoreland, namely, Appleby and Haversham, and two more in Cumberland, namely, St. Bees and Penrith, shall each of them have the privilege or liberty of sending one poor scholar every five years to the place of nomination hereinafter appointed : provided the Head Master of each school send along with such scholar a certificate that he hath distinguished himself above the rest of the same rank in his school for his morals and learning ; that such scholar is well-grounded in the principles of the Church of England as by law established ; that he hath competent parts and remarkable industry ; and that he hath applied himself to the reading of Greek authors at least four years : and provided also, that each candidate brings a certificate of his age from the register signed by the Minister and Churchwardens of the parish he was born in ; it being required that every candidate shall be entered upon the nineteenth year of his age, and none be

allowed to stand after his one-and-twentieth is completed :

I WILL also that fair copies of this codicil be written out in parchment, and sent to every one of the said respective schools, there to be safely kept by the Master for the time being, who is desired to read the same, or cause it to be read, to the scholars, candidates for the exhibitions, four times or oftener in the two last years antecedent to the election :

AND I make it my earnest request that the Rectors of Berwick, Spofforth, and Bolton-Percy, and the Vicars of Leeds, Ledsham, Thorp-Arch, and Collingham, in the county of York, will, in the year wherein the exhibitions shall commence, (if the year be not too far advanced for giving notice as is hereafter directed,) and so likewise at the expiration of every five years for ever after, meet together at the best inn in Abberford, or Abberforth, in the same county, namely on Thursday in Whitsun-week, before eight of the clock in the morning : also all the boys to meet at the said best inn at Abberforth the night preceding the day of nomination, in order to be ready to begin their exercises the next morning :

AND I entreat, the Rectors and Vicars aforementioned will be there half an hour after seven, that they may choose the boys' morning exercise, and put them upon beginning the same by eight of the clock : and my will is that their exercise be a

part of an oration in Tully, not exceeding eight or ten lines, to be translated into English ; and part of an oration in Demosthenes, about the said number of lines, to be translated into Latin ; and two or three verses of the Latin Testament, to be translated into Greek ; and, four books of each sort being provided immediately, put them upon beginning the translations, four of the boys being employed in one kind of translation, four in a second, and four in a third ; and then changing the books till they have gone through the three several translations : and whilst the boys are making their morning exercise, the said Rectors and Vicars, or the greater number of them, shall proceed to choose the afternoon's exercise, which shall be upon two subjects ; one of practical divinity out of the Church Catechism, upon which each boy shall give his thoughts in Latin, in not fewer than eight lines, nor more than twelve ; the other subject, some distinguished sentence of a classic author, upon which each boy shall write two distichs of verses : all which translations and compositions are to be written out fair upon one sheet of paper, and signed by the name of each boy they belong to, and then showed to every nominating Rector and Vicar, who are desired impartially to weigh and consider and return ten of the best of the said exercises, (each of which ten to be signed by the greater number of the Rectors and Vicars present,) to the Provost and

Fellows of Queen's College in the University of Oxford: and when the said Provost and Fellows have received the same, they are hereby required to meet together as soon after as conveniently may be, to examine into them carefully and impartially, and choose out of them eight of the best performances which appear the best; which done, the names subscribed to those eight shall be fairly written each in a distinct paper, and the papers rolled up and put into an urn or vase by the Provost; or, in his absence, by the Vice-Provost or Senior Fellow; and, after having been shaken well together in the urn, shall be drawn out of the same by some person whom he or they shall appoint: and those five whose names are first drawn shall, to all intents and purposes, be held duly elected and entitled to the whole profits each of his exhibition for the space of five years, as before provided, from Pentecost then next preceding the election: and though this method of choosing by lot may be called by some superstition or enthusiasm; yet as the advice was given me by an orthodox and pious Prelate of the Church of England, as leaving something to Providence, and as it will be a means to save the scholars the trouble and expense of a journey to Oxford under too great an uncertainty of being elected, I will this method of balloting be for ever observed:

PROVIDED ALSO, and my will is, that no more

sons than one of the same person shall be nominated or elected to or for any of the said exhibitions : and as my intention in continuing the exhibitions to each person for five years is, to take away from them all necessity of entering precipitately into holy orders, and to give them an opportunity of laying, in some sort, a sound foundation of divine as well as human learning ; so my desire is, that the four first years they apply themselves as they shall be directed in their College and University, chiefly to the arts and sciences ; but that the fifth year be employed wholly in divinity, church history, and the apostolical fathers in the original tongues :

AND it is farther required that, from their first admission into the College, they be obliged to spend one hour every morning in the study of the holy Scripture, and to write their own explanations of such particular places and passages of holy Scripture as their Tutors shall think proper to appoint them, and which their Tutors are required to call for at proper times ; and that in a convenient time before the expiration of their fourth year, each of them shall be obliged to translate into English such a portion of St. Chrysostom's book *De Sacerdotio*, (published by Mr. Hughes, or any other better edition, if such shall hereafter be published,) as the Provost or their Tutors shall appoint ; or, if it be thought feasible, to make an abstract of the whole : and I beg of

the Provost to recommend this in a particular manner to their Tutors :

It is also enjoined, that, as soon as any of them shall have taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, they shall forthwith apply themselves to the Provost or their Tutors for their particular directions in their theological studies, to qualify them for holy orders, and be obliged to make proper abstracts or observations in writing from the several authors they are appointed to read ; which, at the end of each term, or at least every half year, shall be carried by them to the Provost, that he may be a witness of their proficiency, or punish them for their neglect : and I most earnestly beg the Provost to insist upon their so doing :

Also my will and meaning is, that none of the said exhibitions shall be continued to one and the same person above the space of five years from the time of his admission ; and that, if any such scholar or exhibitioner shall, before the said five years are completed, either marry or accept of any ecclesiastical benefice, curacy, or school, or enter into holy orders, from thenceforth his place shall become vacant :

PROVIDED ALSO, and my will and desire further is, that in case any of the said rectories or vicarages shall happen to be vacant at the time of such meeting of the nominating Rectors and Vicars, or any of the said Rectors or Vicars shall be absent from such meeting, such of the

said Rectors and Vicars as are present at such meeting, in case they are five in number, shall proceed to examine, nominate, and certify in such manner as is before directed :

AND in case it shall appear to the Vicar of Ledsham, (who is desired to have previous information for a month before, what persons will be present, and to move every one concerned by letter or otherwise for his personal attendance,) that only four of the Rectors and Vicars can be at the meeting, he is hereby further desired to request the Rector of Methley, or the Vicar of Pontefract, to make up the fifth ; and, if only two can be present, to desire the Vicar of Abberford, and both the said Rector of Methley, and Vicar of Pontefract, to appear and act :

AND in case the said Rectors and Vicars shall neglect to nominate, as aforesaid, or shall be equally divided in their choice, the Provost and Fellows of the said College are hereby empowered to appoint in the last case one person as an umpire ; and in the first case five proper persons, residing as near as may be to the place of meeting, to fill up the vacancies within three calendar months after the time hereby appointed for the nomination :

PROVIDED they observe the qualifications, rules, and restrictions herein before prescribed :

PROVIDED ALSO, and my will further is, that every such exhibitioner shall regularly observe

and strictly conform himself to the rules and orders of the said College, upon pain of forfeiting the benefit of such exhibition for such time as the said Provost shall think fit ; and, that it shall be lawful to and for the Provost and greater part of the resident Fellows for the time being of the said College, in case of notorious obstinacy, immorality, or neglect of duty, after three previous admonitions in a public convention called by the said Provost, to deprive such scholar of his exhibition :

PROVIDED ALSO, that every fifth year notice be sent that the term of five years is near expiring, by the Provost and Fellows of the said College, or their agent, to the said Vicar of Ledsham for the time being, three months at least before the Thursday in Whitsun-week ; who is required immediately to give notice of meeting on the said Thursday to the Rectors and other Vicars, and to the schoolmasters of all the schools for the time being, who have any right to send boys :

PROVIDED ALSO, ten pounds be allowed and paid every five years out of the premises, by the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College for ever, to the Vicar of Ledsham and his successors, one pound thereof being to the said Vicar for his trouble in giving notice, and the other nine pounds towards the defraying of the expenses of the meeting of the said Rectors, and Vicars, and poor scholars, at the time and place before-men-

tioned, and towards defraying the travelling expenses of the poor scholars, each scholar from every school in Yorkshire, that for the time being has the privilege of sending, being allowed five shillings; and each scholar from all the schools in Westmoreland and Cumberland, that for the time being hath the same privilege, being allowed ten shillings:

PROVIDED ALSO, if any one or more of these twelve schools herein mentioned shall so far come to decay as to have no scholar or scholars returned by the Rectors and Vicars, to take their lot by balloting, as before appointed in four successive elections, I desire the Provost and Fellows of the said College to place, constitute, and appoint one or more other school or schools in the county where the school is which has come to decay, in the room and stead of any one or more of these twelve schools herein mentioned:

AND I will that the new-appointed school or schools shall have all the benefit and advantages, and be subject to the same rules, restrictions, and conditions, as the other schools: and to the end it may be known whether any school has so far come to decay, the Provost and Fellows of the said College are hereby required to enter into a book set apart for this purpose the names of all the boys returned, as well as elected, together with the names of each school they are returned

from, in a column over against the name of every boy respectively :

AND to the intent that all doubts may be removed, and all disputes avoided, at the time of nomination, with regard to the directions and appointments herein made and given ; as also that proper books at the time and place of examination may not be wanting ; I do hereby direct, order, and appoint, that a fair copy of this codicil, as also a fair and perfect Greek Testament, an exposition of the Church Catechism by the late Archbishop Wake, the Orations of Tully and Demosthenes, Homer's Iliads, and Virgil's Works, together with three Dictionaries, three Lexicons, three Latin Grammars, and three Greek Grammars, be always and constantly provided by the Vicar of Ledsham for the time being, as often as there shall be occasion, and deposited in the hands of the Vicar of Abberforth ; for all which books, as well as codicils, the said Vicar is to be allowed and reimbursed by the Provost and Fellows of the said College : and I do hereby earnestly request the said Vicar of Abberforth, and his successors, from time to time, to take the care and charge of the said codicil or codicils and books, during the intervals between the meetings, and at the time of the meetings, to deliver them to any one of the said Rectors or Vicars, for the use and benefit of the said Rectors and Vicars, examiners :

AND as to the overplus of the rents and profits issuing out of the premises, after all deductions are made, and after all the exhibitions are answered; and as to all sum or sums of money that may arise by death, marriage, or misbehaviour, of any of the said exhibitioners, or by getting of coals, (which are supposed to be in the estate,) or by any other contingencies; for the further encouragement of residence, my mind and will is, that as soon as the said overplus and the said money arising by death, marriage, misbehaviour, coals, or other contingencies, shall amount to sixty pounds, the Provost shall pay it to any one of the exhibitioners whom he thinks in all respects most deserving of it, provided he has already taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, is not married, and has enjoyed his exhibition five years, to be computed from the time of election, and consents to stay another whole year in the College, without accepting any school or other preferment whatsoever, that may be a means to hinder him from pursuing his studies in divinity: and in case the said overplus and money, arising by the said contingencies, shall amount to two or more sixty pounds, the said Provost shall dispose of it to two or more of the said exhibitioners that have taken their Bachelor of Arts' degree, and enjoyed their exhibitions five years, under the limitations and conditions before mentioned, with regard to residence, marriage, and

preferment: and in case there are not a sufficient number of exhibitors so qualified to take the said overplus, or that are willing to take it upon the last-mentioned limitations and conditions, that such part of it as remains undisposed of be kept in the College-chest till there are exhibitors, one or more, that have taken their Bachelors' degree, and have enjoyed their exhibitions five years, and that will accept of it under the said limitations and conditions, no such person having in the year more than sixty pounds, and no one being entitled to it, or any part of it, after seven years from his election are completed: and in case the rents of the estate should so increase as to produce yearly twenty-five pounds, be it more or less, over and above what is sufficient for five exhibitions at twenty-eight pounds by the year, each for five years, in the manner before directed, and over and above what is sufficient to answer the other expenses of meeting and buying books, as is before provided; my will is, that the said increase of rents, after all deductions made, shall be divided into as many shares as there are exhibitions, and two thirds of each share added to and paid with each exhibition, by quarterly or half-yearly payments, and the remaining third part of each share put into the College-chest, yearly to be paid along with each sum of money saved and reserved for the fifth year to each exhibitor by two half-yearly payments, as before

directed : for experience shows, as the value of land increases, the value of money decreases :

AND, lastly, I declare this codicil to be part of my will :

IN WITNESS whereof, I have to this codicil, and two duplicates hereof, contained in two skins of parchment, set my hand and seal to each skin, this twenty-fourth day of April, at three in the afternoon, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred thirty and nine.

E. HASTINGS.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared, by the said Elizabeth Hastings, as and for a codicil, to be part of her last will, in the presence of us who subscribe our names as witnesses thereto in her presence.

CHRISTOPHER DAWNEY,
J. BLAND,
JOHN NOGUIER,

LANDS, &c., GIVEN BY HER LADYSHIP IN MORT-
MAIN, AND VESTED IN TRUSTEES FOR
THE MAINTENANCE OF PERPETUAL CHA-
RITIES.

Rental.

SHADWELL.

	£.	s.	d.
William Turner, £37; ditto, for part of the farm late Clarkson's, £13. 18s.	50	18	0
George Turner, £14; ditto, for part of the farm late Clarkson's, £13. 18s.	27	18	0
Widow Kitchingman, £9; ditto, for part of the farm late Clarkson's, £13. 18s.	22	18	0
Anthony Green, £2; ditto, for part of the farm late Clarkson's, £3. 6s.	5	6	0

SHADWELL CHIEF RENTS.

Robert Hardwick, Esq.	0	3	6
Robert Blackburn	0	0	6
Ditto, for Stephenson's lands	0	4	0
Ditto, for Fox-Crofts	0	0	4
Ditto, for Barker's	0	0	6½
William Cockill	0	1	6
Richard Tucke	0	0	1
William Turner	0	0	6
Anne Ward	0	2	0
John Briggs	0	0	6

	Rental.		
	£.	s.	d.
Widow Kitchingman	0	0	1
John Stephenson	0	1	0
John Walker.....	0	0	2½

BURTON-SALMON.

George Furnish and Richard Hutchin- son	45	0	0
William Coupland	36	0	0

THORP-ARCH.

The Rev. Mr. Wetherhead, for two inclosures	3	14	2
Christopher Wilson	21	0	0

COLLINGHAM.

Francis Stephenson	39	14	0
Ditto, the mill, and a little farm, late Thompson's	10	0	0
Henry Brewerton	5	0	0
John Laund, a cottage	0	15	0
John Elsworth, a cottage.....	0	15	0
John Barker, a cottage	0	10	0
John Clough, for Croft-cottage	0	6	0
William Shaw, a cottage	0	1	0
John Hudson, a cottage	0	1	0
John Nettleton, a cottage	0	1	0
Nicholas Mountain, a cottage	0	1	0
John Malone, a cottage	0	1	0
Matthew Fowler, a cottage	0	1	0

	Rental.		
	£.	s.	d.
COMPTON.			
John Clough	65	0	0

OUT-GOINGS.**SHADWELL.**

To St. John Baptist's Hospital at Ledsham, a rent-charge of	30	0	0
To Mr. Savile, a chief rent paid out of George Turner's farm	0	6	8
To Thorner, a chief rent paid out of Anthony Green's farm of	0	2	0

BURTON-SALMON.

To a rent paid out of George Furnish's farm at Burton-Salmon	0	10	0
To John Rhodes, for two acres of land lying in part of George Furnish's farm, called Roydes	0	10	0

A SCHEDULE OF THE CHARITIES.

In the first place, the yearly sum of £14 for ever, to provide bread and wine for monthly sacraments in the parish church of Thorp-arch in the ainsty of the city of York, the parish churches of Ledsham, Collingham, Thorner, Mirfield, and

Abberford, all in the West-Riding of the county of York; and the parish church of How in the county of Norfolk; namely, forty shillings to be paid to the Minister of each church, and the overplus to be laid out by each Minister in bread to be given on New-Year's day to such of the poor of the said parish as most frequent the prayers there on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holidays; and if such monthly sacrament be not continued, then go to such other churches as the Vicars of Ledsham, Thorp-arch, and Collingham shall appoint.

Also to the charity-school at Pontefract, in the West-Riding of the county of York, the yearly sum of £5. 5s., to be paid to the Vicar for the time being.

Also to the charity-school at Abberforth in the same Riding, the yearly sum of £5. 5s., to be paid to the Vicar for the time being.

Also the yearly sum of £10 to the charity-school of Melbourne, in the county of Derby, to be paid to the Vicar there for the time being.

Also to the Rector of How for the time being, in trust to pay a Master for teaching eight poor children to read and write in the parish of How, in the county of Norfolk, and for want of such a number there, to be made up out of the parish of Westporringland, in the same county, the yearly sum of £5.

Also to the charity-school for girls of poor sol-

diers belonging to the hospital of Chelsea, now on foot in Chelsea, in the county of Middlesex, the yearly sum of £10. 10s., to be paid to the Treasurer or Trustees of the said schools; and when there shall be no such school there, then to be paid to the Vicar of Pontefract aforesaid, for the time being, for the charity-school at Knottingly, in the parish of Pontefract; and if there be not at that time any such, then the said £10. 10s. to be given as a salary for a Master of a charity-school at Knottingly as aforesaid, under the like regulations as that at Pontefract now is.

Also to be paid to the Bishop of the Isle of Man, the yearly sum of £20 for the time being, in trust to be by him distributed every year at Easter, (and during the vacancy of a Bishop, or for want of the Bishop's direction, by the two Vicars General,) to such Masters or Mistresses of petty schools there, as do not receive the Royal Bounty, who shall produce certificates yearly under the hands of the Vicar, or Incumbent, and Churchwardens of their parish, of their diligence in the discharge of their duties, for the use of the petty schools of the said Isle, hereinafter named, (the others being provided for by the Royal Bounty,) namely, the petty schools of Kirk-Michael, Jurby, Legayre, Maugh-old, (the school to be kept near the church,) Lonan, Onchan, Braddan, (the school to be kept near the church,) Marown, Santan, Malew, Ar-

bory, Rushen, Patrick, and Jermain (the school to be kept in some convenient place remote from the town of Peel).

Also to a Schoolmaster of a charity-school at Wyke, in the West-Riding of the county of York, the yearly sum of £5, until such time as the late Mr. Boulter's appointments for admitting the poor children of Wyke aforesaid, in the parish of Harewood, into his school at Harewood, takes place; then from that time the last mentioned £5 to be added to the salary of the Charity-school Master at Collingham in the same Riding.

Also, that in the several parishes hereinafter named, there be for ever charity-schools under such regulations and in such manner as are hereinafter limited, directed, and appointed, and for that purpose there be duly made the following yearly payments, that is to say,

To the Mistress for the time being for the support and maintenance of a charity-school for girls in Ledsham, in the West-Riding in the county of York, that is to say, for keeping the house, and finding herself, a maid-servant, and twenty girls, in meat, drink, fuel, candles, soap, &c., for washing, and all furniture and utensils for the house, (except such furniture as are hereinafter expressly mentioned,) glazing the windows, and wheels for spinning, and other implements of housewifery, seeds and plants for the

garden, and a man to take care of it and the court, and to keep every place about the house and out-buildings clean, and to fence the pasture-ground or crofts adjoining to the said school-house, (over and above the profits of the said three crofts,) the yearly sum of £82 by quarterly payments.

Also to the said Mistress on the 1st day of April, to clothe yearly at May-day two girls in the manner hereinafter directed, if there be two that have been ten years in the school, and have served the office of housewives in the said school two of those ten years, £6.

Also to the Mistress of the said school the 1st day of April, the sum of £12, with which, and the £16 proposed to be earned every year by the said girls and maid-servant by spinning of jersey, the said Mistress is to clothe yearly twenty girls, in the manner hereinafter directed, against May-day, that being the time for the two housewives to go out, and the two new girls to be taken in.

Also to the Mistress of the said school so often as the Vicar of Ledsham, and such co-adjutors or assistants for the time being as shall be chosen by the Vicars of Ledsham, Thorp-arch, and Collingham, in the manner hereinafter directed, shall think it is necessary to buy any of the following things ; namely, sheets, table-cloths, beds, bedding, brewing-copper, barrels and tubs

for brewing, a jack, a boiler, chairs, benches or forms, candlesticks, and every ten years with the change of the old pewter, four dishes, and twelve plates, (the pewter being designed rather for the girls to learn to clean than use,) any sum not exceeding £5 in any one year.

Also to the Vicar of Ledsham for the time being, to buy books for the use of the said school, as hereinafter directed, and to buy medicines for the girls when sick, and paper books for the accounts of the school, and paper, quills, and ink for the girls to be taught to write, the yearly sum of £5.

Also to the Mistress of the said school, as her salary, the yearly sum of £10.

Also to an understanding, cleanly, experienced servant-maid, not under twenty-seven years of age, as her wages, the yearly sum of £4, so often as a servant can be met with, whom the Vicar of Ledsham, and both or one of the co-adjutors at least with the Mistress, shall think deserving of that sum ; otherwise to a school-maid the sum of £2. 10s.

Also to every woman who shall have been Mistress of the charity-school for girls in Ledsham aforesaid for the space of fifteen years or more, and behaved well, and then through age or infirmities be displaced, the yearly sum of £10 during her life, if she continues single ; but if she doth marry, then this annuity to cease ; and that

only one superannuated Mistress shall be allowed £10 a year at the same time ; so that if there should happen to be two at the same time, the first must enjoy it for her life, and the second wait to succeed her.

Also to a Schoolmaster of a charity-school at Ledsham aforesaid, for teaching twenty boys to read, write, and cast accounts, and instructing them in the principles of the Christian religion, as professed in the Church of England, and laid down in the said Church Catechism, the yearly sum of £17.

Also to the said Master the yearly sum of £1, for training up a youth for a Charity-school Master.

Also to the said Master one other yearly sum of 40s., as an addition to the £1 allowed by the Treasurer of St. John Baptist's Hospital, for reading prayers morning and evening on week-days, and "the Whole Duty of Man," and other books of practical divinity, on Sunday evenings, to the poor men and women of the said hospital.

Also to the said Master for teaching the four housewives in the girls' school to write, and examining the girls as well as the boys every Sunday after evening service, one other yearly sum of 40s.

Also to the said Master one other yearly sum of 40s, for entering the Mistress's accounts and keeping them under proper heads,

and also for keeping a register for the purposes hereinafter directed.

Also to a Schoolmaster of a charity-school at Thorp-arch, in the ainsty of the city of York, the yearly sum of £15, besides the lands belonging to and enjoyed with the school-house.

Also to a Schoolmaster of a charity-school at Collingham, in the West-Riding of the county of York, the yearly sum of £6 until Pentecost, 1743; and from that time to the Master of the said school for the time being, the further addition of £6; being together £12 yearly: nevertheless, if Mr. Boulter's appointments for admitting the poor children of Wyke aforesaid, in the parish of Harewood, into his school should take place before the year 1743, the present Master, as well as all succeeding Masters, to enjoy that £5 a year also.

The said lady being made sensible that a seminary for Charity-school Masters might be of the greatest use in promoting the chief end of charity-schools, appointed the yearly sum of £9 for the maintenance of a youth in the charity-school for boys in Ledsham aforesaid, the said young man not to be taken into the said school under seventeen, and not to be continued longer therein than the age of twenty-three years.

Also to the Vicar of Ledsham aforesaid for the time being, the yearly sum of £3, in trust

to buy English books for the use of the charity-school at Ledsham ; and as £3 will more than supply the said school with proper English books, the overplus thereof to be laid out in books or tracts, and distributed yearly to such persons in the town of Ledstone and in the parish of Ledsham aforesaid as shall want them most ; the towns of Ledstone and Ledsham having the preference, and the choice of the books being always in the Vicar.

Also to the Vicar of Thorp-arch aforesaid for the time being, the yearly sum of £2, in trust to buy books to be employed by him in the said parish, in like manner as is hereinbefore directed for Ledsham.

Also to the Vicar of Collingham for the time being, the yearly sum of £3, in trust to be employed in like manner as is hereinbefore directed.

Also to the Rector of How in the county of Norfolk for the time being, the yearly sum of £1, in trust to buy books to be employed for the school there, and other ways in the said parish as is directed for Ledsham.

Also the sum of £10 to be paid every five years to the Chancellor of the diocess of York for the time being, if he shall so often examine the accounts of the estate from which these appointments are made.

Also the sum of £15 to be paid every five

years to the three Vicars above-named, that is to say, £5 to each, so soon as they shall have passed their accounts before the said Chancellor.

Also the sum of £6 to two co-adjutors at the same time the said three Vicars receive their small token, namely, £3 to each co-adjutor; which said co-adjutors are to be chosen by the said three Vicars, in the manner hereinafter directed.

Also the sum of £10 to pay for making chests for girls in the charity-school, to keep their clothes in.

Also for building a gallery in the parish church of Ledsham, for the use of the charity-boys, and for an altar-piece, a covering for the communion-table, pulpit-cloth, and cushion, all of crimson cloth.

Also for re-building and beautifying the chancel, and new-paving the parish church of Thorp-arch, and for decorations as above for the church at Ledsham, £100.

Also to the Master and poor men of the hospital of Stoke-Pudges, in the county of Buckingham, towards the purchasing a piece of ground, £20.

Also for silver vessels and patins for the altars of the churches of Thorp-arch, Collingham, How, and Buckenham.

Also to rebuild the Schoolmaster's house at Collingham, £100.

Also furniture of plate for the churches of

Ferry-Fryston, Abberford, Thorner, and Castleford.

Her Ladyship gave moreover to the church of Harewood the great tithes of East-Keswick, of yearly value £61.

To the church of Collingham, tithes of yearly value £60.

To the parish church of Leeds, a farm at Wyke, yearly rent £24.

To the church of Thorner, tithes of yearly value £20.

And in land of yearly rent £16.

To the church of Ferry-Fryston, lands of yearly value £12. 10s.

To the church of Bardsey, the tithes of some farms at Wyke, &c., yearly value £10.

To the church at Ledsham, in tithes, yearly value £31. 10s.

To the building of Trinity church in Leeds, £1,000.

To the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, £1,000.

To the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, £500.

Towards purchasing the great tithes at Thorp-arch, for the perpetual augmentation of that vicarage, £400.

To the Infirmary at York, £500.

Towards a purchase for the widow of a Vicar of Ledsham, £220.

With which, and £100 added to it by the Rev. Mr. Benson, were purchased lands at Burton-Salmon, in the parish of Monk-Fryston, to the value of £13 a year.

To Hart's-hall in Oxford, £200.

To the curacy of Saxton, for obtaining the Queen's Bounty, £200.

For obtaining the Queen's Bounty to the curacy of Farnley in the parish of Leeds, £200.

For obtaining the Queen's Bounty to the curacy of Busk in the parish of Aisgarth in Wensidale, £200.

For obtaining the Queen's Bounty to the curacy of Hawes in the parish of Aisgarth, £100.

For obtaining the Queen's Bounty to Morton-cum-Grafton, £100.

For obtaining the Queen's Bounty to the vicarage of Abberford, £100.

For building the vicarage-house at Abberford, £30.

For obtaining the Queen's Bounty to the vicarage of Kippax, £100.

To the curacy of Beeston in the parish of Leeds, £50.

To the building the Vicar's house at Collingham, £200.

To the chapel of Denby in the parish of Penistonton, £60.

To the chapel of Flockton in the parish of Emley, to obtain the Queen's Bounty, £100.

For building the Vicar's house at Harewood, £50.

Towards building the vicarage-house at Ledsham, £52. 10s.

For enlarging the chapel at Bramley in the parish of Leeds, £10. 10s.

THE PRINCIPAL RULES AND REGULATIONS
FOR THE CHARITY-SCHOOLS TO BE MAINTAINED
BY PERPETUAL CHARITIES PROVIDED IN THAT
BEHALF BY AN INDENTURE IN TRUST.

THE said Lady Elizabeth Hastings directs, that the Vicars of Ledsham, Thorp-arch, and Collingham aforesaid, shall, within the space of six weeks after the 14th day of December, 1738, choose, as the greater number of them shall agree, two substantial persons, inhabitants of the parish of Ledsham, to assist them as co-adjutors in the management of the charity-school for girls at Ledsham aforesaid, and that, in the choice of co-adjutors, an impartial regard be had that they be of good reputation for understanding, integrity, peaceableness, and good affections to works of charity, and likely to take pains in them, and that the co-adjutors so chosen shall continue to

assist in the execution of this part of the trust for five years ; that is to say, till such time as the accounts of the whole trust-estate have been examined and allowed by the Chancellor of the diocess, if the said co-adjutors so long live, and continue to reside in the said parish, but that upon the death or removal of both or either of the said co-adjutors during that time, the said Vicars shall proceed to a fresh election of a new co-adjutor or co-adjutors, which new co-adjutor or co-adjutors shall act till the expiration of the time before limited ; at the expiration of which, the said Vicars shall either re-elect the same or choose two new co-adjutors : this method always to be continued, as soon as may be after the Chancellor has examined the accounts of the said trust-estate ; and that the said Vicars do on the first quarter-day which shall happen next after the said 14th day of December, 1738, settle the accounts of the Mistress of the said charity-school for girls which shall be unsettled at that time ; and order the Bailiff for the trust-estates to make up the balance in her hands, out of the first money which he shall receive from the said estate, £20. 10s., to defray the house expense for the next quarter ; and that all payments made by the said Bailiff shall be by an especial order under the hands of the Vicar of Ledsham, and one of the co-adjutors at least.

Also that the Mistress of the girls'-school in

Ledsham aforesaid shall be chosen by the said Vicars of Ledsham, Thorp-arch, and Collingham, and the two co-adjutors for the time being ; that person to be declared legally chosen that has two of the Vicars' and one of the co-adjutors' votes, or the three Vicars' votes ; and that the girls shall be chosen into the said charity-school in the same manner ; and that such Mistress and girls may be dismissed or removed from the said school by the said Vicars and co-adjutors, or by such greater number of them as is required for the electing such Mistress as aforesaid ; and that such Mistress be not younger than twenty-five years of age when she comes into the school, and be dismissed before she exceeds sixty-five years of age ; and that such Schoolmistress be a single woman ; and, if a widow, that she hath no child that depends upon her for its maintenance ; that she be a member of the Church of England ; that she understand well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion ; that she be virtuous, discreet, and good-natured ; that she frequent the holy communion ; that she have a genius for teaching and instructing the children ; that she be a good housewife, and understanding in the management of a family ; that if she marry, or any way abuseth the trust reposed in her, she be immediately dismissed the school ; and that she shall never enjoy the £10 a year left for the superannuated Mistress.

Also that with the sum of £12 hereinbefore appointed, together with the sum of £16 proposed to be earned by spinning jersey, the twenty girls be thoroughly clothed yearly against May-day ; the gowns and petticoats of the bigger, and the coats of the lesser, girls to be of blue serge ; the rest of their clothing to be according to the directions given to the present Mistress, which, with the method of instruction and industry they are now in, may be seen more at large in the directions given to the said Mistress, signed by the aforesaid Lady Elizabeth Hastings, which she directs shall continue to be observed.

Also that the two co-adjutors shall at least once in every month visit the said girls'-school, and examine particularly into the provisions bought for the said school ; that they are good in their kind, a sufficient quantity of them, and procured at the lowest price ; that the girls have spun their tasks, behaved well, and are well used by the Mistress.

And if in winter season, when the days are short and the weather bad, all the children out of the villages allowed to be taught in the charity-schools of Ledsham, Thorp-arch, and Collingham, should not come, then the number appointed to each school to be made up out of such adult persons as, being conscious of their ignorance of the Christian religion, are desirous to learn to read, that they may read the word of God, which is the rule of life, and be made capa-

ble of reaping benefit by such reading, (as well as the preaching of the word,) from the instructions given them by the said Masters out of some easy expositions of the Church Catechism, and such plain practical books as are agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England; and it is to be hoped, even housekeepers, if so unhappy as not to have been taught in their youth, will not be ashamed to go for instruction, and that those who have been more happy will contrive to give their servants time to go in the school-hours, if they have neglected learning in their youth, and are then desirous of Christian knowledge.

And it is also appointed by the said lady, that all the Masters of Ledsham, Thorp-arch, and Collingham, after and even during her time, (the Master of Ledsham school only excepted,) be chosen out of such as have been trained up in the charity-school for boys in Ledsham aforesaid; the preference always to be given to those who are most exemplary in their lives, and have, whilst under the Master, been most diligent and industrious to imprint Christian principles on the minds of the children they have been directed to instruct: and it is likewise appointed by the aforesaid Lady Elizabeth Hastings, that the said Masters shall be advanced from one school to another according to their deserts; those that have given the strongest proofs of their virtue and piety in the parishes where they were Masters,

and have taken most pains to train up the children under their care in the principles and practice of true religion ; the main and principal end for which the schools aforesaid were founded.

Also that the said three Vicars be for ever kept clear of all private loss and expense, howsoever the same shall arise, whether from journeys, carriage of letters, accommodations of meat and drink at their several meetings, and unavoidable or necessary suits at law, or from any other cause, matter, or thing whatsoever the same shall happen to be.

Also that the said Vicars shall, at the end of the first five years after their entrance upon the management of their said trust, send to the Chancellor of the diocess by their Bailiff an attested copy or transcript of the trust-indenture and schedules thereunto annexed, and of the book of their negotiations, together with a rental of the trust-estate, and an account of all payments made and issued forth, and applied for the use and maintenance of the said charities, and all other papers and evidences whatsoever in any wise pertaining to the execution of the said trust to that time ; and that at the end of every five years afterwards for ever, they do likewise send to the said Chancellor a copy of the entries of their transactions, and of the rental and accounts of all the payments made for the said charities, and all other papers relating to the said trust, for the five preceding years ; and when there

shall happen to be a new Chancellor, a copy of the said indenture and schedules likewise, unless the copy of the said indenture and schedules delivered to the late Chancellor can be obtained from his Executors for such new Chancellor ; and that within one week afterwards the three said Vicars, or two of them at least, shall attend in person on the said Chancellor, who is earnestly requested, that he would in the presence of the said Vicars carefully peruse and examine the papers and accounts so to be laid before him, and that he would mark well all errors and mistakes, voluntary and involuntary, and all deviations from the orders and appointments herein made and established, and admonish the said three Vicars of the same, for the greater exactness of their conduct afterwards, and in all times to come ; and if such errors, mistakes, and deviations are only of a lighter nature, and do not in any wise deeply affect or injure the trust, or any part thereof, then that he would, in his own handwriting, write out and sign in the said book of negotiations a testimonial, in such manner and form as he shall think proper, setting forth, and declarative of, the diligence and integrity of the said Vicars.

END OF VOLUME XI.

